LECTURES ON PATAÑJALI'S MAHĀBHĀṢYA

VOL. III

(ĀHNIKAS 7 to 9)

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TIRUCHIRAPALLI
1955

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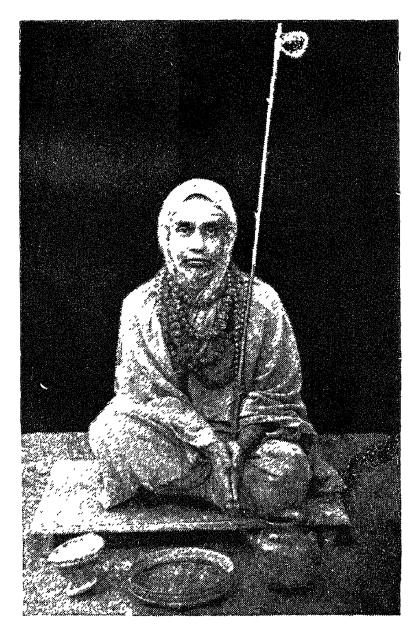
Dedicated to His Holiness
ŚRI JAGADGURU ŚAṄKARĀCĀRYA—CANDRAŚEKHARENDRA
ŚARASVATĪ-SVĀMIPĀDĀḤ, Śrī Kāñcī Kāmakoṭi Maṭh,
Kumbakonam,
by his devotee *P. S. Subrahmanya*

PREFACE

उत्तिष्ठत (Rise), जाग्रत (Wake up) is the commandment of the *Kaṭhōpaniṣad*. उत्तिष्ठत, जाग्रत, समग्रस्य पतञ्जलिमहाभाष्यस्य आङ्ग्लभारत्या विपरिणामं कुरुत (Rise, wake up, translate the whole of *Mahābhāṣya* into English) was the commandment in the year 1950 at Tiruvisalur, Tanjore District, of *His Holiness Sri Jagadguru ŚANKARĀCĀRYA CANDRAŚĒKHARĒNDRA SARASVATĪ SVĀMIPĀDĀH*, *Kāñcī Kāmakōṭi Mutt, Kumbakonam*. "The thought—when and by whom it will be published—need not unnerve you", was His word of encouragement. I had then translated only the first six *āhnikas*. I had not even dreamt of proceeding further. Through his *ājñārūpa-anugraha* I was able to translate, in my retired life, the remaining seventy nine *āhnikas* with His *anugraha* alone for my help by the end of the year 1953. I respectfully offer my *anantakōṭi-praṇāmas* to His Holiness for having enabled me—a poor soul—to do this great service. Scholars in the whole world who now have a chance to study *Mahābhāṣya* by *Bhagavān Patañjali* will, I am sure, feel deeply indebted to His Holiness.

Since the authorities of the Annamalai University who were kind enough to publish the first two volumes expressed their inability to continue the publication further, I have myself ventured to publish the *āhnikas*, seven to nine, as the third volume. If the Government, the lovers of Sanskrit, and the institutions sprung for the promotion of culture are so kind as to purchase two hundred copies of each volume, I feel that the subsequent volumes, nine in number, can be easily published by myself without making any one feel the burden of the same. I thank Śāstraratnākara K. A. SIVARAMAKRISHNA SASTRIAR, Senior Vyākaraṇa Lecturer in the Annamalai University for having given me useful suggestions on going through the manuscripts. May Lord *Naṭarāja* and Mother *Śivakāmasundarī* enable me complete the publication of the whole series!

23, Pandian Lane,
Andar Street,
Teppakulam P.O.,
Tiruchirapalli,
11—7—1955.

P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri.

अष्टाध्यायीप्रणेतारं दाक्षीपुत्रं सुपाणिनिम् ।
वाक्यकारं वररुचिं भाष्यकारं पतञ्जलिम् ॥
चोक्कनाथं मखिवरं भाष्यरत्नावलीकृतम् ।
वेङ्कटाध्वरिणश्शिष्यं रामभद्रगुरुं वरम् ॥
नीलकण्ठं यतिवरं क्षेत्रपालनिवासिनम् ।
अद्वैतमार्गनिष्णातं शब्दशास्त्रमहोदधिम् ॥
वैद्यनाथं द्विजं मित्रं मरूर्ग्रामनिवासिनम् ।
शब्दशास्त्रप्रवक्तारं गीताद्यर्थप्रकाशकम् ॥
प्रणम्य तान् गुरून् सर्वान् प्रसन्नमनसाधुना ।
कुर्वे आङ्गलभारत्या महाभाष्यविमर्शनम् ॥

Printed at
The Trichinopoly United Printers Limited,
Tiruchirapalli—500 Copies.

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इग्यणः सम्प्रसारणम् (1—1—45)

IT is discussed here whether the designation *samprasāraṇa* denotes the meaning of the sentence *yaṇaḥ ik bhavati* or the letter *ik* which replaces *yaṇ*.

किमियं वाक्यस्य सम्प्रसारणसंज्ञा क्रियते इग्यण इत्येतद्वाक्यं सम्प्रसारणसंज्ञं भवति इति, आहोस्वित् वर्णस्य इग्यो यणः स्थाने वर्णः स सम्प्रसारणसंज्ञो भवति इति?

Is this *samprasāraṇasaṁjñā* given to the *sentence* thus—that the meaning of the sentence *yaṇaḥ ik bhavati* gets the *samprasāraṇasaṁjñā* or to the *letter* thus—that the *ik* which replaces *yaṇ* gets the *samprasāraṇasaṁjñā*?[1]

कश्चात्र विशेषः?

What is the distinctive feature in either?

संप्रसारणसंज्ञायां वाक्यस्य संज्ञा[2] चेद्वर्णविधिः

If the *samprasāraṇasaṁjñā* is to the sentence, (non-application) of the rule based upon its denoting a letter.

1. Since the word *samprasāraṇa* is used in *Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī* both with the nominative case—suffix and with oblique case—suffixes and in the former *samprasāraṇa* is *vidhēya* and in the latter it is *anuvādya* and consequently it can denote the *sentence* in the former case and the *word* in the latter case, *Mahābhāṣyakāra* mentions this question raised by the *Vārttikakāra*. In the case where *samprasāraṇa* denotes the sentence, the word *iti* is taken here from the previous *sūtra Navēti vibhāṣā* and the word *bhavati* is taken to be understood. Hence the *sūtra* will then read *Ig yaṇaḥ bhavati iti samprasāraṇam*. It is generally known that word in ordinary usage refers to its *meaning* and if it is followed by the word *iti*, it refers to its *form* and the reverse is the case in *Vyākaraṇa*.

2. वाक्यसंज्ञा is another reading.

सम्प्रसारणसंज्ञायां वाक्यस्य संज्ञा चेद्वर्णविधिर्न सिध्यति, सम्प्रसारणात्परः पूर्वो भवति इति, संप्रसारणस्य दीर्घो भवति इति ; न हि वाक्यस्य संप्रसारणसंज्ञायां सत्याम्[1] एष निर्देशः उपपद्यते, नाप्येतयोः कार्ययोः सम्भवोऽस्ति ।

If the *samprasāraṇasaṁjñā* refers to a sentence, the rule based on its referring to a letter cannot operate, such as, that which succeeds a *samprasāraṇa* becomes one with the former,[2] the *samprasāraṇa* is lengthened[3]; for if the *saṁjñā* refers to sentence, the statement *that which succeeds it* becomes one with it or *it gets lengthened* can have no meaning and those two *kāryas* cannot be accomplished.

अस्तु तर्हि वर्णस्य

Let it then be to the letter.

वर्णस्य संज्ञा चेन्निर्वृत्तिः

If the *saṁjñā* is to the *varṇa*, (there will be non-achievement) of the desired object.

वर्णस्य संज्ञा चेत् निर्वृत्तिर्न सिध्यति, ष्यङः सम्प्रसारणम् इति

If the *saṁjñā* is to the *varṇa*, the purpose of the *sūtra Ṣyaṅaḥ samprasāraṇam* is not achieved.

स एव हि तावत् इग् दुर्लभो यस्य संज्ञा क्रियते

For it is difficult at the first instance to find *ik*, to which *saṁjñā* may be given.[4]

अथापि कथञ्चित् लभ्येत, केनासौ यणः स्थाने स्यात् ?

1. सत्याम् is absent in the Bombay Edition.

2. This refers to the *sūtra Samprasāraṇācca* (6, 1, 108), by which *ū* which replaces *v* in the word *vāh* in *viśvavāh* and *ā* which follows it take the *pūrvarūpa ū*.

3. This refers to the *sūtra Samprasāraṇasya* (6, 3, 139) by which *i* replaces *y* in *Kāumudagandhyāyāḥ putraḥ* and is lengthened so that the form *Kāumudagandhīputraḥ* is secured.

4. This objection is raised taking that *varṇa* is *kārya*.

Even if *ik* is got with great difficulty, on what authority will it replace *yaṇ*?

अनेन ह्यसौ व्यवस्थाप्यते, तदेतदितरेतराश्रयं भवति । इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते ।

If it is taken that it is decided by this *sūtra*, there is interdependence. The purpose is not achieved where there is interdependence.

विभक्तिविशेषनिर्देशस्तु ज्ञापक उभयसंज्ञात्वस्य

Mention of different cases suggest that it is the *saṁjñā* for both.

यदयं विभक्तिविशेषैः निर्देशं करोति, सम्प्रसारणात् परः पूर्वो भवति इति, सम्प्रसारणस्य दीर्घो भवति इति, ष्यङः सम्प्रसारणं भवति इति, तेन ज्ञायते उभयोः संज्ञा भवति इति

Since he (*Sūtrakāra*) makes mention of different cases (fifth, sixth and first), like *samprasāraṇāt* where it is said that the succeeding vowel takes *ēkādēśa* with the former, *samprasāraṇasya* where it is said that lengthening takes place to *samprasāraṇa* and *samprasāraṇam* where it is said that the *pratyaya ṣyaṅ* takes *samprasāraṇa*.

यत्तावदाह सम्प्रसारणात्परः पूर्वो भवति इति सम्प्रसारणस्य दीर्घो भवति इति, तेन ज्ञायते वर्णस्य भवति इति

From the statements that what follows *samprasāraṇa* takes *ēkādēśa* with it and lengthening takes place to *samprasāraṇa*, it is learnt that the *saṁjñā* has reference to the *varṇa*.

यदप्याह ष्यङः सम्प्रसारणम् इति तेन ज्ञायते वाक्यस्यापि[1] संज्ञा भवति इति

From also the statement *Ṣyaṅaḥ samprasāraṇam*, which he makes, it is learnt that the *saṁjñā* has reference to the sentence also [2].

1. अपि is absent in Bombay Edition.

2. This can be understood if the *sūtra Ṣyaṅaḥ samprasāraṇam* is explained thus:—*ṣyaṇaḥ yaṇaḥ ik bhavati.*

NOTE :—*Vārttikakāra* has definitely stated that the *saṁjñā* has reference both to the *varṇa* and the *vākya*. *Mahābhāṣyakāra*, having explained the views of the *Vārttikakāra* tries to meet out all the cases first by considering that the *saṁjñā* may refer to the *vākya* alone and then to the *varṇa* alone. But *Guruprasada Sastri* tries to reconstruct *vārttikās* on the assumption that it is the opinion of the *Vārttikakāra* which *Mahābhāṣyakāra* tries to expatiate. But there are many places where the latter, after explaining the *vārttikas* of the former has differed from him. The meaning of the word *vyākaraṇa* in the *Paspaśāhnika* is an instance in point.

अथवा पुनरस्तु वाक्यस्यैव

Or let it be to the *vākya* alone.

ननु चोक्तं, सम्प्रसारणसंज्ञायां वाक्यस्य संज्ञा चेद्वर्णविधिः [1] इति ?

Has it not been said that, if the *samprasāraṇa-saṁjñā* refers to sentence, rules relating to letter cannot operate.

नैष दोषः । यथा काकाज्जातः काकः, श्येनाज्जातः श्येनः, एवं सम्प्रसारणाज्जातं सम्प्रसारणम् । यत्तत्सम्प्रसारणाज्जातं सम्प्रसारणं, तस्मात्परः पूर्वो भवति, तस्य दीर्घो भवति इति ।

This difficulty cannot arise. Just as that which is born of a crow is a crow, and that which is born of a vulture is a vulture, so also that which is born of a *samprasāraṇa* is a *samprasāraṇa*. The *samprasāraṇa* born of a *samprasāraṇa* gets its succeeding letter merged with it and is lengthened.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that the application of *samprasāraṇasaṁjñā* to a *varṇa* is *āupacārikaprayōga*. But the same is not the case with reference to the crow and the vulture born respectively of a crow and a vulture. Hence the analogy mentioned above does not seem to be appropriate. It seems therefore, *Mahābhāṣyakāra* takes recourse to the following reasoning.

1. Chāukhamba edition adds न सिध्यति after वर्णविधिः

अथवा दृश्यन्ते हि वाक्येषु वाक्यैकदेशान् प्रयुञ्जानाः, पदेषु च पदैकदेशान्

Or people are seen using parts of sentences and parts of words in the place of sentences and words.

वाक्येषु तावद्वाक्यैकदेशान् — प्रविश, पिण्डीम्, प्रविश, तर्पणम् इति । पदेषु पदैकदेशान् - देवदत्तो दत्तः, सत्यभामा भामा इति ।

Firstly when they have to give expression to sentences, they express their parts like *praviśa, piṇḍīm, praviśa, tarpaṇam.* Similarly when they have to read full words, they read their parts like *Datta* and *Bhāmā* for *Dēvadatta* and *Satyabhāmā.*

NOTE :—*Praviśa* is part of *praviśa gṛham, piṇḍīm* is a part of *piṇḍīm bhakṣaya, praviśa* is a part of *praviśa nadīm* and *tarpaṇam* is a part of *tarpaṇam kuru.*

एवमिहापि, सम्प्रसारणनिर्वृत्तात् सम्प्रसारणनिर्वृत्तस्य इत्येतस्य वाक्यस्यार्थे सम्प्रसारणात् सम्प्रसारणस्य इत्येष वाक्यैकदेशः प्रयुज्यते । तेन निर्वृत्तस्य विधिं विज्ञास्यामः, सम्प्रसारणनिर्वृत्तात् सम्प्रसारणनिर्वृत्तस्य इति ।

So also here *samprasāraṇāt*, a part of the sentence, is used for *samprasāraṇanirvṛttāt* and *samprasāraṇasya*, a part of the sentence, is used for *samprasāraṇanirvṛttasya.* Hence we take them to refer to the *vidhi* expressed by *samprasāraṇanirvṛttāt* and *samprasāraṇanirvṛttasya.*

NOTE :—1. The word *vākya* here refers to a compound word and hence is used loosely.

NOTE :—2. The analogy mentioned here may not be appropriate, since the context suggests with regard to *praviśa* etc. the remaining parts of the sentence and here there is no context to suggest it. Hence it seems that *Mahābhāṣyakāra* goes to the next reasoning.

अथवा आहार्यं सम्प्रसारणात्परः पूर्वो भवति इति सम्प्रसारणस्य दीर्घो भवति इति, न च वाक्यस्य सम्प्रसारणसंज्ञायां सत्यामेव निर्देश उपपन्नः,[1] नाप्येतयोः कार्ययोः सम्भवोऽस्ति इति तत्र वचनाद्भविष्यति ।

1. उपपद्यते is another reading.

Or he (*Sūtrakāra*) says that what succeeds *samprasāraṇa* takes *pūrvarūpa* and there is lengthening of *samprasāraṇa* and such a statement will be inappropriate if *saṁprasāraṇasaṁjñā* refers to a sentence and those two *kāryas* cannot happen and hence, from his reading the *sūtra*, it refers to a *varṇa*.

अथवा पुनरस्तु वर्णस्य

Or let it refer to *varṇa*.

ननु चोक्तं वर्णसंज्ञा चेन्निर्वृत्तिः इति ?

Has it not been said that, if the *samjñā* is to the *varṇa*, the object is not achieved ?

नैष दोषः । इतरेतराश्रयमात्रमेतच्चोदितम् । सर्वाणि च इतरेतराश्रयाण्येकत्वेन परिहृतानि, सिद्धं तु नित्यशब्दत्वात् इति ।

This difficulty does not arise. The interdependence alone was pointed out. All such states of interdependence are avoided by taking recourse to the fact that words are *nitya*.

नेदं तुल्यमन्यैरितरेतराश्रयैः । न हि तत्र किंचिदुच्यते अस्य स्थाने ये आकारैकारौकारा भाव्यन्ते ते वृद्धिसंज्ञा भवन्ति इति । इह हि पुनरुच्यते, इग्यो यणः स्थाने वर्णः स सम्प्रसारणसंज्ञा भवति इति ।

This is not similar to the other cases of interdependence; for it is not stated there (under the *sūtra Vṛddhirādāic*) that *ā*, *āi* and *āu* which replace something get the *vṛddhi-samjñā*; but here it is clearly stated that the *ik* which replaces *yaṇ* get the *samprasāraṇa-saṁjñā*.

एवं तर्हि भाविनीयं संज्ञा विज्ञास्यते

If so, this *samjñā* is given to that which is to come later.

तद्यथा — कश्चित् कञ्चित् तन्तुवायमाह, अस्य सूत्रस्य शाटकं वय इति । स पश्यति, यदि शाटको न वातव्यः, अथ वातव्यो न शाटकः ; शाटको वातव्यश्च इति विप्रतिषिद्धम्, भाविनी खल्वस्य संज्ञा अभिप्रेता, स मन्ये वातव्यः, यस्मिन्नुते शाटक इत्येतद्भवति इति । एवमिहापि स यणः स्थाने भवति यस्य अभिनिर्वृत्तस्य सम्प्रसारणमित्येषा संज्ञा भविष्यति ।

It is illustrated thus :—A weaver tells another 'Spin a cloth of this yarn.' He thinks thus :—If it is already a cloth, there is no need to spin ; if it is to be spun, it is not already a cloth ; it is contradictory to say 'Spin a cloth.' But he has said 'Spin a cloth' anticipating the name cloth ; thence I think that it should be spun and it will get the name of cloth after the yarn is spun. So also though there is no *ik* at present, the *saṁjñā* may go to the *ik* which takes the place of *yaṇ*.

NOTE :—There is nothing to warrant in this line of argument that *ik* replaces of *yaṇ*.

अथवा इजादियजादिप्रवृत्तिश्चैव हि लोके लक्ष्यते । यजाद्युपदेशात्तु इजादिनिवृत्तिः प्रसक्ता ; प्रयुञ्जते च पुनर्लोका इष्टम् उप्तम् इति ; ते मन्यामहे अस्य यणः स्थाने इममिकं प्रयुञ्जत इति । तत्र तस्यासाध्वभिमतस्य शास्त्रेण साधुत्वमवस्थाप्यते[1]—किति साधुर्भवति ङिति साधुर्भवति इति

Or it is seen that sometimes *yaj* and sometimes *ij* are used in the world. Since the root is read as *yaj*, there is chance to avoid the use of *ij*; but the world makes use of words like *iṣṭam* and *uptam*. We then think that they have used *ik* in place of *yaṇ*. When it is thought that such a usage is incorrect, its correctness is established before the *pratyayas kit* and *ṅit* by the *Vyākaraṇaśāstra*.

आद्यन्तौ टकितौ (1—1—46)

There are *three* topics here :—(1) The use of compound words in the *sūtra* gives room for ambiguity with reference to the operation of *ṭit* and *kit* (2) Whether *ṭit* and *kit* are *āgamas* or *ādēśas* and (3) The need for prohibiting the operation of this *sūtra* with reference to *pratyayas*.

I

समासनिर्देशोऽयं, तत्र न ज्ञायते क आदिः कोऽन्त इति । तद्यथा — अजाविधनौ देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ इत्युक्ते तत्र न ज्ञायते कस्य अजा धनं, कस्यावयः इति ।

1. Bombay Edition reads अन्वाख्यायते ।

This (*sūtra*) is worded in compounds and it is not clearly known which is *ādi* and which is *anta*, as it is not definitely known who has the wealth of goats and who has that of sheep in the expression *ajāvidhanāu Dēvadattayajñadattāu* (*Dēvadatta* and *yajñadatta* have the wealth of goats and sheep).

यद्यपि तावल्लोक एव दृष्टान्तः,[1] दृष्टान्तस्यापि तु पुरुषारम्भो निवर्तको भवति

Even though this (ambiguity) is admitted in the world, it is cleared through some individual effort.

अस्ति चेह कश्चित्पुरुषारम्भः ?

Is there any individual effort here ?

अस्तीत्याह

" Yes," says he.

कः What ?

सङ्ख्यातानुदेशो नाम

The sūtra *Yathāsaṅkhyam anudēśaḥ samānām* (1, 3, 10)

II

कौ पुनष्टकितौ आद्यन्तौ भवतः ?

What are they, the *ṭit* and *kit* which are *ādyanta* ? (i.e.) are they *āgamas* or *ādēśas* ?

आगमावित्याह

' They are *āgamas* ', says he.

युक्तं पुनर्यन्नित्येषु नाम शब्देष्वागमशासनं स्यात् ?

Is it then proper that *āgamas* are enjoined to *śabdas* which are *nitya* ?

न; नित्येषु नाम शब्देषु कूटस्थैरविचालिभिर्वर्णैर्भवितव्यम् अनपायोपजन-विकारिभिः । आगमश्च नाम अपूर्वः शब्दोपजनः ।

No; the letters which make up words which are *nitya* should neither move nor change (i.e.) they should not be elided, augmented or replaced; but *āgama* is a new letter that is inserted as an augment.

1. दृष्टान्तः = निश्चयः (Uddyōta)

[1] अथ युक्तं यन्नित्येषु शब्देष्वादेशाः स्युः ?

Is it proper then that there are *ādeśas* to letters in words which are *nitya* ?

बाढं युक्तम् । शब्दान्तरैरिह भवितव्यम् । तत्र शब्दान्तरात् शब्दान्तरस्य प्रतिपत्तिर्युक्ता ।

Certainly it is proper; they are here to be considered as different words; it is proper to consider that one word has replaced another.

आदेशास्तर्हि इमे भविष्यन्ति अनागमकानां सागमकाः

These are then considered to be *ādēśas*, those with *āgamas* replacing those without *āgamas*.

तत् कथम् ? How is it ?

संज्ञाधिकारोऽयम् । आद्यन्तौ चेह सङ्कीर्त्येते, टकारककारावितौ [2] उदाह्रियेते । तत्राद्यन्तयोष्टकारककारावितौ संज्ञे भविष्यतः । तत्र आर्द्धधातुकस्येड् वलादेः इत्युपस्थितं भवति, आदिरिति ; तेनेकारादिरादेशो भविष्यति ॥

This *sūtra* is within the section where *saṁjñās* are enjoined. The expression *ādyantāu* is mentioned first and *ṭakāra* and *kakāra* which are *it* are mentioned next. Hence *ṭakāra* which is *it* and *kakāra* which is *it* are respectively the *saṁjñās* of *ādi* and *anta*. When the *sūtra Ārddhadhātukasya iḍ valādēḥ* has to operate, *iṭ* means *ikārādi* and hence the word which has *i* at the commencement becomes the *ādēśa* (to the word which does not have *i*).

एतावदिह सूत्रम् इट् इति ; कथं पुनरियता सूत्रेणेकारादिरादेशो लभ्यः ?

Here is only the word *iṭ* in the *sūtra* : How can it be signified by it that *ikārādi* becomes *ādēśa* ?

लभ्य इत्याह ‘It can be signified,’ he says.

कथम् How ?

1. This is the question put by the person who gave the answer *Āgamāu ityāha*.

2. This suggests that here *ṭit* and *kit* are *karmadhāraya* compounds.

[1] बहुव्रीहिनिर्देशोऽयम् इकारः ट् आदिरस्य इति

This (*iṭ*) is a *bahuvrīhi* compound and it is split thus: *ikāraḥ ṭ (ādiḥ) asya*.

यद्यपि तावदत्रैतच्छक्यते वक्तुम्, इह तु कथं 'लुङ्लङ्लृङ्क्ष्वडुदात्तः' इति, [2] यत्राशक्यमुदात्तग्रहणेन अकारो विशेषयितुम्?

Even though it is possible to say so here [3], what about the interpretation of the expression *aḍ udāttaḥ*, of the *sūtra Luṅ-laṅ-lṛṅkṣu aḍudāttaḥ* where the word *udātta* cannot be taken as an adjunct to *akāra*.

NOTE :—The objector takes *aḍ* and *udāttaḥ* as separate words If *aḍ* is taken to be a *bahuvrīhi* compound, it would mean *akārādiḥ* and hence *udātta* can be an adjunct to the *aṅga* which is *akārādi* and not to the augment *a*.

तत्र को दोषः? What is the harm there?

अङ्गस्योदात्तत्वं प्रसज्येत

There is the possibility for the *udātta* to go to *aṅga* (and consequently the last syllable of the *aṅga* will become *udātta* by the operation of the rule *Alōntyasya*).

नैष दोषः, त्रिपदोऽयं बहुव्रीहिः । तत्र वाक्य एवोदात्तग्रहणेनाकारो विशेष्यते, अकार उदात्त आदिरस्य इति ।

This defect does not arise, since this word (*aḍudāttaḥ*) is a *bahuvrīhi* compound made up of three words. There, in the phrase (of three words), *udātta* is taken to be the adjunct of *akāra* and the compound is split thus:- *a* (*akāraḥ*), *udāttaḥ, ṭ (ādiḥ) asya.*

NOTE :—The mention of *udāttaḥ* at the end of the compound word if it is taken as the adjunct of *a* is irregular. This is answered by *Bhattōji Dīkṣita* in his *Śabdakāustubha* thus :-*viśēṣaṇasyāpi udāttasya sāutraḥ paranipātaḥ.*

1- Bombay Edition adds बहुव्रीहिनिर्देशात्

2. Chāukāmba Edition reads अत्र

3. The word—here-means in the *sūtra Ārddhadhātukasyēḍ valādēḥ.*

यत्र तर्ह्यनुवृत्त्यैतद्भवति 'आडजादीनाम्' इति ?

If so, how is it to be explained where this (the word *udātta*) is not mentioned in the *sūtra*, but is taken there through *anuvṛtti* as in the *sūtra* '*Āḍ ajādīnām*'?

वक्ष्यत्येतत् 'अजादीनामटा सिद्धम्' इति

He says later on '*Ajādīnām aṭā siddham.*'

NOTE:—The subject of *vakṣyati* above is *Vārttikakāra*. He says in the discussion under the *sūtra Na māṅyōgē* (7, 4, 74), the *vārttika* '*Ajādīnām aṭā siddham*' by which he suggests that the *sūtra Āḍ ajādīnām* is unnecessary. In the absence of that *sūtra*, the objection *yatra tarhi anuvṛttyā ētad bhavati* does not arise. But according to the *Sūtrakāra*, the objection does stand. Hence according to him the *sūtra Ādyantāu ṭakitāu* cannot be taken as a *saṁjñāsūtra*.

अथवा, यत्तावदयं सामान्येन शक्नोत्युपदेष्टुं[1] तत्तावदुपदिशति प्रकृतिं, ततो वलाद्यार्धधातुकं, ततः पश्चादिकारम् । तेनायं विशेषेण शब्दान्तरं समुदायं प्रतिपद्यते । तद्यथा - खदिरबर्बुरयोः खदिरबर्बुरौ गौरकाण्डौ सूक्ष्मपर्णौ, ततः पश्चादाह 'कङ्कटवान् खदिरः' इति । तेनासौ विशेषेण द्राव्यान्तरं समुदायं प्रतिपद्यते ।

Or, that which he can first read in general, he reads—the stem; then he reads the *ārddhadhātuka* suffix which commences in *val*; he then reads *ikāra*. This then assumes a different form through this special characteristic. This may be illustrated thus with reference to the trees *Khadira* and *Barbura*. (It is first said) *khadira* and *barbura* have pale-red branches and tiny leaves; it is then said that *khadira* has an armourlike withered coat. From this characteristic *khadira* assumes a different form (in the mind of the hearer.)

NOTE:—The word *athavā* suggests that it is not happy to take the *sūtra* as a *saṁjñā-sūtra* in the opinion of the *Sūtrakāra*.

अथवैतया आनुपूर्व्यायं शब्दान्तरमुपदिशति - प्रकृतिं, ततो वलाद्यार्धधातुकं, ततः पश्चादिकारं, यस्मिंस्तस्यागमबुद्धिर्भवति ।

1. Bombay Edition reads उपदेष्टुं शक्नोति

Or a different word is read in this order—first the stem, then the *ārddhadhātuka* which is *valādi* and *ikāra,* from which it is understood that *ikāra* is the *āgama.*

NOTE:—The difference between this line of reasoning and the previous one is that, in the latter, the word alone is considered *nitya* and the idea of the stem and the suffix is only the creation of the grammarian.

III

टकितोराद्यन्तविधाने प्रत्ययप्रतिषेधः

Prohibition with reference to *pratyaya* if *ṭit* and *kit* are said to operate at the commencement and at the end.

टकितोराद्यन्तविधाने प्रत्ययस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः प्रत्ययः आदिरन्तो वा मा भूदिति, 'चरेष्टः,' 'आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः' इति

Prohibition should be enjoined with reference to *pratyaya,* if *ṭit* and *kit* are said to operate at the commencement and at the end, so that the *pratyaya* enjoined in the *sūtra Carēṣṭaḥ* (3, 2, 16) may not operate at the commencement and the *pratyaya* enjoined in the *sūtra Ātōऽnupasargē kaḥ* (3, 2, 3) may not operate at the end.

NOTE:—This topic arises on the assumption that the *sūtra Ādyantāu ṭakitāu* is an *apavāda* not only to *Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā,* but also to *Paraśca* (3, 1, 2) after the *adhikārasūtra Pratyayaḥ* (3, 1, 1).

परवचनात् सिद्धम्

It is accomplished through the *sūtra* '*Paraśca.*'

परवचनात् प्रत्यय आदिरन्तो वा न भविष्यति

Pratyaya will not operate at the commencement or at the end, since the *sūtra Paraśca* enjoins that it should be *para* to that to which it is enjoined.

परवचनात् सिद्धमिति चेन्नापवादत्वात्

It is not accomplished through the mention of *para,* this being an *apavāda.*

परवचनात्सिद्धमिति चेत्तन्न
No, it is not accomplished through *paravacana.*

किं कारणम्? Why?

अपवादत्वात् Since this is *apavāda.*

अपवादोऽयं योगः, तद्यथा - मिदचोन्त्यात्परः इत्येष योगः स्थानेयोगत्वस्य प्रत्ययपरत्वस्य चापवादः ।

This *sūtra* is an *apavāda* in the same way as the *sūtra Midacōntyāt paraḥ* is *apavāda* to both the *sūtras Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā* and *Paraśca.*

विषम उपन्यासः । युक्तं तत्र यदनवकाशं मित्करणं स्थानेयोगत्वं प्रत्ययपरत्वं च बाधते । इह तु पुनरुभयं सावकाशम् ।
The reasoning is not sound. It is but proper that the *sūtra Midacōntyāt paraḥ* having no other room to operate than the places of operation of the *sūtras Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā* and *Paraśca* becomes an *apavāda* to both. Both of them, on the other hand, have here different places of operation.

NOTE:—The word *ubhaya* refers to the *ṭitva* and *kitva* with reference to *pratyaya* and the *ṭitva* and *kitva* with reference to *āgama.* Since the *āgamaṭitva* and *āgamakitva* have to operate only where *Ṣaṣṭhīsthānēyōgā* operates, the *sūtra Ādyantāu ṭakitāu* is taken to be the *apavāda* of the *sūtra Ṣaṣṭhīsthānēyōgā* and since they need not operate only when *Paraśca* operates and both have different places of operation, the *sūtra Ādyantāu ṭakitāu* need not be taken as the *apavāda* to the *sūtra Paraśca* also.

[1] कोऽवकाशः? Which is the different place of operation?

[2] टित्करणस्य अवकाशः, टित इति ईकारो यथा स्यात् ।

The room for *ṭit* to operate is where the *strīpratyaya ī* appears after *a* which is *ṭit.*

1. Bombay Edition omits it.
2. Bombay Edition reads टित्करणसावकाशः

NOTE :—The *pratyaya a* which is *ṭit* is added after the root *car* in the word *Kurucara* by the *sūtra Carēṣṭaḥ* (3, 2, 16) and *ṅīp* is added after *a* which is *ṭit* in the formation of the word *Kurucarī* by the *sūtra Ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*....(4, 1, 15)

[1] कित्करणस्यावकाशः कितीत्याकारलोपो यथा स्यात् ।

The room for *kit* to operate is where *ā* of *dā* in *gō-dā* + *a* is dropped by the *sūtra Ātōlōpa iṭi ca* before the *kit-pratyaya a.*

प्रयोजनं नाम तद्भक्तव्यं यन्नियोगतः स्यात् । यदि चायं नियोगतः परः स्यात् तत एतत्प्रयोजनं स्यात् । कुतो नु खल्वेतत् टित्करणादयं परो भविष्यति न पुनरादिरिति, कित्करणाच्च परो भविष्यति न पुनरन्त इति ।

That, indeed, deserves to be called *prayōjana* which is secured only as the effect of an injunction. If this is *para* through an injunction, this may be considered its *prayōjana*. How is this to be understood that through *ṭitkaraṇa* it becomes *para* and not *ādi* and through *kitkaraṇa* it becomes *para* and not *anta* ?

NOTE :—This objection is based upon the assumption that there is no injunction of the form *ṭit parō bhavati.*

टितः खल्वप्येष परिहारो यत्र नास्ति सम्भवो यत्परश्च स्यादादिश्च । कितस्त्व-परिहारः अस्ति हि सम्भवो यत्परश्च स्यादन्तश्च ।

Or perhaps *ṭit* may escape from this, since it cannot be both *para* and *ādi* ; and *kit* cannot escape, since it can be *para* and *anta*.

NOTE :—Even though *paratva* and *antatva* (*avayavatva*) are entirely different, that which is *para* and gets the effect of *anta* may be considered *anta*.

तत्र को दोषः ? What is the harm there ?

'उपसर्गे घोः किः', आध्योः प्रध्योः, नोङ्धात्वोः इति प्रतिषेधः प्रसज्येत ।

The *pratyaya ki* is enjoined after *ghu* if it is preceded by an upasarga by the *sūtra Upasargē ghōḥ kiḥ* (3, 3, 92), and then the prohibitory *sūtra Nōṅdhātvōḥ* (6, 1, 175) will operate in *ādhyōḥ, pradhyōḥ.*

1. Bombay Edition reads कित्करणसावकाशः

NOTE :—The root *dhā* is *ghu* and, if it is preceded by the prepositions *ā* and *pra*, it gets the *pratyaya kiḥ*. Since it is *kit*, the *ā* of *dhā* is dropped and the words *ādhiḥ* and *pradhiḥ* are formed. Here the *kitpratyaya i* which is *para* to the root *ādhā* and *pradhā* may be considered to be its *avayava* in the forms *ādhi* and *pradhi*. Suppose *ā*, the instrumental case-suffix which is a *śas* is used after *ādhi* and *pradhi ;* here *i* becomes *y*; consequently *ā* which follows the *yaṇ* of the roots *ādhā* and *pradhā* cannot be pronounced with *udātta* tone on the strength of the *sūtra Nōṅdhātvōḥ.*

टितश्चाप्यपरिहारः । स्यादेव ह्ययं टित्करणादादिर्न पुनः परः ।

Ṭit too cannot escape; since there is mention of *ṭit*, it can become *ādi* and not *para.*

क्व तर्हि इदानीमिदं स्यात् 'टित ईकारो भवति' इति ?

If so, where is it then that *i* is added to *ṭit ?*

य उभयवान् गापोष्टगिति

It happens where both are found as in *Gāpōṣṭak* (3, 2, 8)

NOTE :—In the word *sāmaga*, the *ā* of *gā* is dropped on account of the *pratyaya ā* being *kit* and *ī* is added to it to form *sāmagī*, since *ā* is *ṭit*. Hence in the formation of the forms *sāmaga* and *sāmagī*, the *prayōjana* of *ṭit* and *kit* is found.

सिद्धं तु षष्ठ्यधिकारे वचनात्

The object is accomplished by reading it where there is *adhikāra* for *ṣaṣṭhī.*

सिद्धमेतत्

This—the meaning of the objection—is accomplished.

कथम् ? How ?

षष्ठ्यधिकारेऽयं योगः कर्तव्यः, आद्यन्तौ टकितौ षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य इति

'This *sūtra* is to be read where there is *adhikāra* to *ṣaṣṭhī* thus—*Ādyantāu ṭakitāu ṣaṣṭhīnirdiṣṭasya.*

NOTE :—The objection to this statement is that th
sūtra is not so read.

आद्यन्तयोर्वा षष्ठ्यर्थत्वात्तदभावेऽसम्प्रत्ययः

Ādi and *anta* being the *prayōjaka* of *ṣaṣṭhī*, their non-cognitior without it.

आद्यन्तयोर्वा षष्ठ्यर्थत्वात्, तदभावे — षष्ठ्या अभावे, असम्प्रत्ययः स्यात् · आदिरन्तो वा न भविष्यति ।

Since *ādi* and *anta* are the *prayōjaka* of the sixth case, it is not possible to understand *ādi* or *anta* in its absence (in the absence of *ṣaṣṭhyartha*).

NOTE :—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* mentions that *ṣaṣṭhyāḥ* in *ṣaṣṭhyā abhāvē* in the *Mahābhāṣya* means *ṣaṣṭhyarthābhāvē*, and that *artha* in *ṣaṣṭhyartha* means *prayōjana*.

युक्तं पुनर्यच्छब्दनिमित्तको नामार्थः स्यात्, नार्थनिमित्तकेन नाम शब्देन भवितव्यम् ?

Is it proper to allow the idea dependent on the expression used and not to allow the expression to depend upon the idea to be conveyed ?

अर्थनिमित्तक एव शब्दः

It is certainly the expression that depends upon the idea to be conveyed.

तत् कथम् ? How is it ?

आद्यन्तौ षष्ठ्यर्थौ *Ādi* and *anta* are the *prayōjaka* of *ṣaṣṭhī*.

न चात्र षष्ठीं पश्यामः । तेन[1] मन्यामहे आद्यन्तावेवात्र न स्तः ; तयोरभावे षष्ठ्यपि न भवति इति ॥

We do not see *ṣaṣṭhī* here. Hence we have to think that even *ādi* and *anta* are not here and consequently *ṣaṣṭhī* too is not found in their absence.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that the *nyāya* '*Purastād apavādāḥ anantarān vidhīn bādhantē na uttarān*' holds good only in

1. ते is another reading.

yathōddēśapakṣa and not in *kāryakālapakṣa* ; but *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* holds the view that the *nyāya* holds good in both. Hence the *sūtra* '*Ādyantāu ṭakitāu*' is an *apavāda* to '*Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā*' and not to '*Paraśca.*'

मिद्चोन्त्यात् परः (1, 1 47)

There are *three* topics dealt with here :—(1) that this *sūtra* is an *apavāda* to *Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā* and *Paraśca* after *pratyayaḥ.* (2) that *num* should be enjoined before *j* in the root *masj* etc. and (3) whether the *mit* is *pūrvānta, parādi,* or *abhakta.*

I

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते ?

What for is this *sūtra* read? (i.e.) which *sūtra* is denied its application by this *sūtra?*

मिद्चोऽन्त्यात् पर इति[1] स्थानपरप्रत्ययापवादः

The *sūtra Mid acōntyāt paraḥ* is an *apavāda* to the *sūtras Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā* and *Paraśca* after *Pratyayaḥ.*

मिद्चोऽन्त्यात् पर इत्युच्यते ; स्थानेयोगत्वस्य प्रत्ययपरत्वस्य चापवादः ।

The *sūtra Mid acōntyāt paraḥ* is read; it is an *apavāda* to *Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā* and *Paraśca* after *Pratyayaḥ.*

स्थानेयोगत्वस्य तावत् कुण्डानि, वनानि, पयांसि, यशांसि ।

The examples for its first being the *apavāda* of *Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā* are :-*kuṇḍāni, vanāni, payāṁsi, yaśāṁsi.*

NOTE :—The stems *kuṇḍa, vana, payas* and *yaśas* take *i*, the nominative-accusative plural suffix, after them by the *sūtra Jaśśasōḥ śiḥ* (7, 1, 20) ; when, they get the *āgama num* by the *sūtra Napuṁsakasya jhalacaḥ* (7, 1, 72) and *a* at the end of the former two and preceding *s* in the latter two is lengthened by the *sūtra Sarvanāmasthānē cāsambuddhāu* (6, 4, 8). Here the *āgama num* does not replace the final letter of the stems and hence this *sūtra* stands as an *apavāda* to the *sūtra Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā.*

1. इति is omitted in Chāukāmba edition.

प्रत्ययपरत्वस्य भिनत्ति, छिनत्ति

The examples for its being the *apavāda* of *Paraśca* after *Pratyayaḥ* are *bhinatti* and *chinatti*.

NOTE :—The roots *bhid* and *chid* take the *āgama śnam* before *ti*, the third person singular termination, present. Here *na* is inserted after the vowel *i* and not after the roots. Hence this *sūtra* is an *apavāda* to the *sūtra Paraśca* after *Pratyayaḥ*.

भवेदिदं युक्तमुदाहरणं कुण्डानि वनानि, यत्र नास्ति सम्भवो यदयमचोऽन्त्यात्परश्च स्यात् स्थाने च इति ।

This set of examples —*kuṇḍāni, vanāni*—is appropriate, since it is not possible for the *āgama num* to follow the last vowel and also to be in its stead.

इदं त्वयुक्तं पयांसि यशांसि इति ; अस्ति हि सम्भवो यदयम् अचोऽन्त्यात् परश्च स्यात् स्थाने चेति ।

This set of examples—*payāṁsi, yaśāṁsi* - is not suitable ; for the *āgama num* can come after the last vowel and in the place of the final letter.

NOTE :—Both the *sūtras Mid acōntyāt paraḥ* and *Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā* may operate here, *num* being inserted after the last vowel and being substituted for the final letter *s*.

एतदपि युक्तम् This set, too, is appropriate.

कथम् ? How ?

नैवेश्वर आज्ञापयति, नापि धर्मसूत्रकाराः पठन्ति अपवादैरुत्सर्गा बाध्यन्ताम इति ।

Neither *Vēda* enjoins nor the authors of *Dharmasūtras* have stated it as a rule that general rules are set at naught by exceptions.

किं तर्हि ? Whence then is it so learnt ?

लौकिकोऽयं दृष्टान्तः । लोके हि सत्यपि सम्भवे बाधनं भवति । तद्यथा - दधि ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दीयतां तक्रं कौण्डिन्याय इति । सत्यपि सम्भवे दधिदानस्य तक्रदानं

निवर्तकं भवति । एवमिहापि सत्यपि सम्भवे अचामन्त्यात्परत्वं षष्ठीस्थानेयोगत्वं बाधिष्यते ।

It is a rule current in the world. The exception, in the world, sets at naught the general rule, even though there is a chance for both to stand side by side. This is illustrated thus:—One says, "Let curd be served to brahmans and buttermilk to *Kāuṇḍinya*." Even though it is possible to serve both curd and buttermilk to *Kāuṇḍinya*, he is served only with buttermilk and hence the statement 'Let buttermilk be served to *Kāuṇḍinya*' completely sets at naught the general statement "Let curd be served to brahmans,' with reference to *Kāuṇḍinya*. So also the state of following the last vowel, here, sets at naught its occupying the place of the final letter.

NOTE:—Hence *Kāiyaṭa* says *Sāmānyavihitaḥ viśēṣavihitēna bādhyatē, na samuccīyatē, nāpi vikalpyatē.*

II

अन्त्यात्पूर्वो मस्जेर्मिद् अनुषङ्गसंयोगादिलोपार्थम्

Mention of *mid* before the final consonant in *masj* for the sake of the elision of *anuṣaṅga* and *saṁyōgādi*.

अन्त्यात्पूर्वो मस्जेर्मिद् वक्तव्यः

Mid has to be enjoined before the final consonant of *masj*.

किं प्रयोजनम्? What for?

अनुषङ्गसंयोगादिलोपार्थम् – अनुषङ्गलोपार्थं संयोगादिलोपार्थं च । अनुषङ्गलोपार्थं तावत् मग्नः मग्नवान्; संयोगादिलोपार्थं मङ्क्ता, मङ्क्तुम्, मङ्क्तव्यम्

For the sake of the elision of *anuṣaṅga* or the penultimate *n* and of *saṁyōgādi*. The examples where there is *anuṣaṅgalōpa* are *magna* and *magnavān* and those where there is *saṁyōgādilōpa* are *maṅktā*, *maṅktum* and *maṅktavyam*.

NOTE:—*Magna* is formed thus:—*masj* + *ta* = *masnj* + *ta* = *masnj* + *na* (*ta* becoming *na* by the *sūtra Ōditaśca* (8, 2, 45)= *manj* + *na* (*s* being dropped by the *sūtra Skōḥ saṁyōgādyōrantē ca* (8, 2, 29) = *maj* + *na* (*n* being dropped by the *sūtra* '*Aniditām*

hala upadhāyāḥ kṅiti' (6, 4, 24)=*magna* (*j* changing to *g*, the *sūtra* *ṛditaśca* being *asiddha*).

In *maṅktā*, *maṅktum* and *maṅktavyam*, *s* is dropped on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Skōḥ saṁyōgādyōrantē ca*.'

भर्जिमर्च्योश्च

In *bharj* and *marc* too.

भर्जिमर्च्योश्च अन्त्यात् पूर्वो मिद् वक्तव्यः - भरूजा मरीचय इति

Mention of *mid* before the final consonant in *bharj* and *marc* also is necessary for the formation of the words *bharūjā* and *marīcayaḥ*.

स तर्हि वक्तव्यः It is then to be mentioned.

न वक्तव्यः No, it need not.

निपातनात् सिद्धम् [1]

The object is accomplished through *nipātana*.

किं निपातनम्?

Where is the *nipātana*?

भरूजाशब्दोऽङ्गुल्यादिषु पठ्यते, मरीचिशब्दो बाह्वादिषु ।

The word *bharūjā* is read in *aṅgulyādigaṇa* in Chapter V and *marīci* in *bāhvādigaṇa* in Chapter IV.

III

किं पुनरयं पूर्वान्तः, आहोस्वित् परादिः, आहोस्विद् अभक्तः?

Is this (*n*) to be considered as the final of that which precede it, or as the initial of that which follows it, or as an elemen forming a part of neither?

कथं [2] वायं पूर्वान्तः स्यात्? कथं वा परादिः? कथं वाभक्तः?

Under what circumstances can this be taken as *pūrvānta* *parādi* or *abhakta*?

1. Bombay Edition does not read this as a *Vārttika*.

2. च is the reading in the Benares edition.

यद्यन्त इति वर्तते ततः पूर्वान्तः ; अथादिरिति वर्तते ततः परादिः ; अथोभयं निवृत्तं ततोऽभक्तः ।

If it is taken as the final letter, it is *pūrvānta*; if it is taken as the initial letter, it is *parādi*; if it is neither, it is *abhakta.*

कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

What is the peculiarity in each?

अभक्ते दीर्घनलोपस्वरणत्वानुस्वारशीभावाः

It being *abhakta*, (there is difficulty in) *dīrghatva*, *nalōpa*, *svara*, *ṇatva*, *anusvāra* and *śībhāva*.

यद्यभक्तः, दीर्घत्वं न प्राप्नोति - कुण्डानि वनानि ; 'नोपधायाः', 'सर्वनामस्थाने चासम्बुद्धौ' इति दीर्घत्वं न प्राप्नोति । दीर्घ ।

If it is *abhakta*, lengthening (of *a*) in *kuṇḍāni* and *vanāni* cannot take place; lengthening through the *sūtra* '*Sarvanāmasthānē cāsambuddhāu*' following the *sūtra* '*Nōpadhāyāḥ*' does not take place.

NOTE:—If *n* is *abhakta*, *a* cannot be taken as the penultimate.

नलोप - नलोपश्च न सिध्यति - अग्ने त्री ते वाजिना त्री षधस्था [1] ता ता पिण्डानाम् — नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य इति नलोपो न प्राप्नोति । नलोप ।

The elision of *n* cannot take place through the *sūtra* '*Nalōpaḥ prātipadikāntasya*' (8, 2, 7), so that the forms *trī*, *vājinā* and *tā* may have to be considered irregular in the Vēdic sentence '*Agnē trī tē vājinā trī ṣadhasthā tā tā piṇḍānām.*'

NOTE:—It is to be determined wherefrom this quotation *tā tā piṇḍānām* is taken. Occasion for the *sūtra* '*Nalōpaḥ prātipadikāntasya* arises after the case-suffix *i* is dropped by the *sūtra Śē śchandasi bahulam* (6, 1, 70.)

1. अग्ने त्री ते वाजिना त्री षधस्था तिस्रस्ते जिह्वा ऋतजात पूर्वीः is (R. V. 3, 20, 2)

2. या ते गात्राणामृतुथा कृणोमि ता ता पिण्डानां प्रजुहोम्यग्नौ is (R. V. 1, 163, 19)

स्वर - स्वरश्च न सिध्यति - सर्वाणि ज्योतींषि - सर्वस्य सुपि इत्याद्युदात्तत्वं न प्राप्नोति । स्वर ।

The *udāttasvara* for the initial syllable in the word *sarvāṇi* cannot be got from the *sūtra* '*Sarvasya supi*' (6, 1, 191), since the stem is not followed by the case-suffix on account of *n* lying between the stem and the suffix.

णत्व । णत्वं च न सिध्यति — माषवापाणि, व्रीहिवापाणि – पूर्वान्ते प्रातिपदिकान्तनकारस्य इति सिद्धं, परादौ विभक्तिनकारस्य इति । अभक्ते नुमो ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ।

The change of *n* to *ṇ* is not accomplished in the words *māṣavāpāṇi, vrīhivāpāṇi*; if it is considered as *pūrvānta*, *ṇatva* takes place on the strength of the *sūtra Prātipadikāntanum vibhaktiṣu ca* (8, 4, 11) and if it is taken as *parādi, ṇatva* takes place, *n* being taken as a part of case-suffix. If it is taken as an *abhakta, num* has to be mentioned.

न कर्तव्यम्; क्रियते एतद् न्यास एव प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम् - विभक्तिषु च इति । णत्व ।

It need not be mentioned. It has already found a place in the *sūtra* '*Prātipadikāntanum vibhaktiṣu ca*' itself.

अनुस्वार । अनुस्वारश्च न सिध्यति - द्विषंतपः, परंतपः, मो अनुस्वारो हलि इत्यनुस्वारो न प्राप्नोति ।

Anusvāra in *dviṣaṁtapaḥ* and *paraṁtapaḥ* cannot be secured on the strength of the *sūtra Mōnusvāraḥ* (8, 3, 23).

NOTE :—The word *dviṣaṁtapaḥ* means *dviṣantam tāpayati* and it is formed thus:—From the *sūtra Dviṣatparayōs tāpēḥ* (3, 2, 39), the *pratyaya khac* is used at the end and *ā* of *tāp* is shortened from the *sūtra Khaci hrasvaḥ* (6, 4, 94); The *mum-āgama* is got from the *sūtra* '*Arurdviṣad-ajantasya mum*' (6, 3, 67); *t* of *dviṣat* is dropped by the *sūtra* '*Saṁyōgāntasya lōpaḥ*; *dviṣam* is considered a *pada* by *ēkadēśavikṛtanyāya* and *m* is changed to *anusvāra* by the *sūtra* '*Mōsnusvāraḥ*.'

मा भूदेवम्; नश्चापदान्तस्य झलि इत्येवं भविष्यति ।

Let it not happen through that *sūtra* ; let the *anusvāra* replace *m* by the *sūtra* '*Naścāpadāntasya jhali*' (8, 3, 24).

यस्तर्हि न झल्परः, वहंलिहो गौः, अभ्रंलिहो वायुः । अनुस्वार ।

If so, *vahaṁlihaḥ* and *abhraṁlihaḥ* in *vahaṁlihō gāuḥ* and *abhraṁlihō vāyuḥ* where *m* is not followed by *jhal* may serve as examples.

शीभाव । शीभावश्च न सिध्यति - त्रपुणी, जतुनी, तुम्बुरुणी - नपुंसकादुत्तरस्यौङः शीभावो भवतीति शीभावो न प्राप्नोति ।

Śībhāva in the words *trapuṇī*, *jatunī* and *tumburuṇī* is not possible, since the nominative-accusative-dual suffix *āu* cannot be replaced by *ī* on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Napuṁsakācca*' (7, 1, 19) (since *n* intervenes between the stem and the case-suffix.)

एवं तर्हि परादिः करिष्यते

If so, let it be taken as the initial of what follows.

परादौ गुणवृद्ध्यौत्वदीर्घनलोपानुस्वारशीभावे नकारप्रतिषेधाः

It being *parādi*, (there is difficulty in) *guṇa*, *vṛddhi*, *āutva*, *dīrgha*, *nalōpa*, *anusvāra* and *nakārapratiṣēdha* in *śībhāva*.

यदि परादिः, गुणः प्रतिषेध्यः - त्रपुणे, जतुने, तुम्बुरुणे 'घेर्ङिति' इति गुणः प्राप्नोति । गुण ।

If it is *parādi*, there is chance for *u* in *trapuṇē*, *jatunē* and *tumburuṇē* to take *guṇa* in the dative singular, since the suffix is *ṅit* on the strength of the *sūtra Ghēr ṅiti* (7, 3, 111) and it is to be prohibited.

वृद्धि । वृद्धिः प्रतिषेध्या - अतिसखीनि ब्राह्मणकुलानि - सख्युरसम्बुद्धौ इति णित्वे, अचो ञ्णिति इति वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति । वृद्धि ।

There is chance for *ī* in *atisakhīni* in the sentence *atisakhīni brāhmaṇakulāni* to take *vṛddhi* before the nominative plural suffix *śi* which is enjoined to be *ṇit* by the *sūtra Sakhyur asambuddhāu* (7, 1, 92) on the strength of the *sūtra Acō ñṇiti* (7, 2, 115) and it is to be prohibited.

औत्व - औत्वं च प्रतिषेध्यम् - त्रपुणि, जतुनि, तुम्बुरुणि - इदुद्भ्याम्, औत्, अच्च घेः इति औत्वं प्राप्नोति । औत्व ।

There is chance for *i*, the locative singular suffix in *trapuṇi, jatuni, tumburuṇi* to be changed to *āu* on the strength of the *sūtras Idudbhyām* (7, 3, 117), *Āut* (7, 3, 118) and *Acca ghēḥ* (7, 3, 119) and it is to be prohibited.

दीर्घ - दीर्घत्वं च न सिध्यति - कुण्डानि, वनानि - नोपधायाः सर्वनामस्थाने चासम्बुद्धौ इति दीर्घत्वं न प्राप्नोति ।

The lengthening of *a* in *kuṇḍāni, vanāni, a* not being to be considered as an *upadhā* of a word ending in *n*, is not possible on the strength of the *sūtra Sarvanāmasthānē cāsambuddhāu* (7, 4, 8) following the *sūtra Nōpadhāyāḥ*.

मा भूदेवम्, अतो दीर्घो यञि, सुपि च इत्येवं भविष्यति ।

Let not the lengthening be on the strength of that *sūtra* and let it be on the strength of the *sūtra Supi ca* (7, 3, 102), where there is *anuvṛiti* to the words *ataḥ, dīrghaḥ* and *yañi* from the *sūtra Atō dīrghō yañi* (7, 1, 3).

इह तर्हि अस्थीनि, दधीनि, प्रियसखीनि ब्राह्मणकुलानि

If so, what is to be said here in *asthīni, dadhīni* and *priyasakhīni* in the sentence *priyasakhīni brāhmaṇakulāni?*

नलोप - नलोपश्च न सिध्यति - अग्ने त्री ते वाजिना त्री षधस्था, ता ता पिण्डानाम् - 'नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य' इति नलोपो न प्राप्नोति । नलोप

The elision of *n* is not possible in *trī, vājinā, tā* in the Vēdic lines *Agnē trī tē vājinā trī ṣadhasthā, tā tā piṇḍānām* on the strength of the *sūtra Nalōpaḥ prātipadikāntasya.*

अनुस्वार - अनुस्वारश्च न सिध्यति - द्विषन्तपः, परन्तपः - मोनुस्वारो हलि इत्यनुस्वारो न प्राप्नोति

M cannot be replaced by *anusvāra* in the words *dviṣaṁtapaḥ, paraṁtapaḥ* on the strength of the *sūtra Mōnusvāraḥ* (8, 3, 23), where there is the *anuvṛtti* for *hali* from the *sūtra Hali sarvēṣām* (8, 3, 22).

मा भूदेवम् - 'नश्चापदान्तस्य झलि' इत्यनुस्वारो भविष्यति

Let it not be so; let *anusvāra* set in on the strength of the *sūtra Naścāpadāntasya jhali* (8, 3, 24),

यस्तर्हि न झल्परः वहंलिहो गौः अभ्रंलिहो वायुः

If so, what about the *anusvāra* in the words *vahaṁlihaḥ* and *abhraṁlihaḥ* in the sentences *vahaṁlihō gāuḥ* and *abhraṁlihō vāyuḥ* where *m* is not followed by *jhal*.

शीभावे नकारप्रतिषेधः - शीभावे नकारस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - त्रपुणी, जतुनी, तुम्बुरुणी; सनुम्कस्य शीभावः प्राप्नोति ।

It is to be said that *nakāra* should be exempted in *śībhāva* in the words *trapuṇī, jatunī, tumburuṇī*; otherwise *ī* may take the place of *n* + *āu* (the nominative-accusative dual suffix).

नैष दोषः, 'निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति' इत्येवं न भविष्यति ।

There is no scope for this *dōṣa*, since *ādēśas* take the place of those which are mentioned in the *sūtras*.

NOTE:—The *sūtra Napuṁsakācca* (7, 1, 19) enjoins that *ī* takes the place of *āu*; hence there is no scope for *n* to be elided.

यस्तर्हि निर्दिश्यते तस्य न प्राप्नोति ।

If so, the *ādēśa* cannot replace what is mentioned in the *sūtra*.

कस्मात्? Why?

नुमा व्यवहितत्वात्

Since *num* stands between the stem and the suffix.

एवं तर्हि पूर्वान्तः करिष्यते

If so, it is considered as *pūrvānta*.

पूर्वान्ते नपुंसकोपसर्जनह्रस्वत्वं - द्विगुस्वरश्च

It being *pūrvānta*, there is difficulty in the shortening of the vowel in the neuter stem which is *upasarjana* and in the *svara* of *dvigu* compound.

यदि पूर्वान्तः क्रियते, नपुंसकोपसर्जनह्रस्वत्वं द्विगुस्वरश्च न सिध्यति

If it is taken as *pūrvānta*, there is difficulty in the shortening of the vowel in the neuter stem which is *upasarjana* and in the *svara* of *dvigu* compound.

नपुंसकोपसर्जनह्रस्वत्वम् - आराशस्त्रिणी, धानाशष्कुलिनी निष्कौशाम्बिनी, निर्वाराणसिनी ।

If *n* is considered as *pūrvānta*, the stem cannot be considered as ending in a vowel and hence the forms *ārāśastriṇī*, *dhānāśaṣkulinī*, *niṣkāuśāmbinī*, *nirvārāṇasinī* cannot be secured on account of the operation of the *sūtra Hrasvō napuṁsakē prātipadikasya* (1, ?, 47).

द्विगुस्वर - पञ्चारत्निनी, दशारत्निनी - नुमि कृते अनजन्तत्वादेते विधयो न प्राप्नुवन्ति

The final is said to take *udāttasvara* in *dvigu* by the *sūtra Samāsasya* (6, 1, 223) and the final here is *n*, so that there is difficulty for the *sūtra* to operate with reference to *pañcāratninī*, *daśāratninī*. After *num* appears on the operation of the *sūtra Napuṁsakasya jhalacaḥ* (7, 1, 72), the other rules cannot operate since the stem does not end in a vowel.

न वा बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वात्

Absence of difficulty on account of *bahiraṅgalakṣaṇa*.

न वैष दोषः This difficulty does not arise.

किं कारणम्? Why?

बहिरङ्गलक्षणत्वात् - बहिरङ्गो नुम्, अन्तरङ्गा एते विधयः । असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे

On account of *bahiraṅgalakṣana*. *Num* is *bahiraṅga* (since it needs the presence of case-suffix) and these rules are *antaraṅga* (since they do not depend upon case-suffix for their operation); The effect of *bahiraṅgasūtras* is considered non-existent when *antaraṅgasūtras* begin to operate.

द्विगुस्वरे भूयान् परिहारः - सङ्घातभक्तोऽसौ नोत्सहते अवयवस्येगन्ततां विहन्तुमिति कृत्वा द्विगुस्वरो भविष्यति

The solution is easier with reference to *dvigusvara.* Considering that the whole is not prepared to allow its part being deprived of its ending in *ik*, the *dvigusvara* will operate.

NOTE:—The final syllable in *dvigu* is *udātta.*

एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे (1—1—48)

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते ? What for is this *sūtra* read ?

एच इग्वचनं सवर्णाकारनिवृत्त्यर्थम् ।

The *sūtra* is read for preventing like letter and *akāra.*

एच इग्भवतीत्युच्यते सवर्णनिवृत्त्यर्थम् अकारनिवृत्त्यर्थं च ।

It is said that *ik* replaces *ēc* to prevent like letters and *akāra* from replacing them.

सवर्णनिवृत्त्यर्थं तावत् - एङो ह्रस्वादेशशासनेषु अर्द्ध एकारो अर्द्ध ओकारो वा मा भूत् इति

Firstly with reference to *savarṇanivṛtti*—So that 'half *e*' and 'half *o*' may not be used when the rules relating to the shortening of long vowels operate.

अकारनिवृत्त्यर्थं च - इमावैचौ समाहारवर्णौ, मात्रावर्णस्य मात्रेवर्णोवर्णयोः, तयोः ह्रस्वशासनेषु कदाचिदवर्णः स्यात् कदाचिदिवर्णोवर्णौ, मा कदाचित् अवर्ण भूत् इत्येवमर्थमिदमुच्यते ।

With reference to *akāranivṛtti* too—The two letters which come under the *pratyāhāra āic* are diphthongs having one *mātrā* for *a* and another *mātrā* for *i* or *u*. Hence when rules relating to shortening operate, sometimes *a* may be substituted and sometimes *i* or *u*. This *sūtra* is read to avoid the substitution of *a* under any circumstances.

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत् ? Is this the *prayōjana*?

किं तर्हीति ? What then?

दीर्घप्रसङ्गस्तु

Chance for the long.

दीर्घास्त्विकः प्राप्नुवन्ति

Long *iks* have a chance to replace them.

किं कारणम्? Why?

स्थानेऽन्तरतमो भवतीति

Since that which replaces another closely resembles it.

NOTE :—Since *ē*, *ō*, *āi* and *āu* have two *mātrās*, it is legitimate that they are replaced by *ī* and *ū* which have two *mātrās*.

ननु च ह्रस्वादेश इत्युच्यते, तेन दीर्घा न भविष्यन्ति

Oh! there is mention of *hrasvādēśa* and hence there is no chance for long letters to replace them.

विषयार्थमेतत् स्यात् एचो ह्रस्वप्रसङ्गे इग्भवति इति ।

It is intended to show the occasion and hence the *sūtra* means that *ik* takes the place of *ēc* when there is an opportunity for a *hrasva* to set in.

दीर्घाप्रसङ्गस्तु निवर्तकत्वात्

Non-occasion for *dīrgha* to set in, the *sūtra* being one of prohibition.

दीर्घाणां त्विकामप्रसङ्गः

There is no opportunity for the long *iks* to replace *ēc*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

निवर्तकत्वात् Since the *sūtra* is one of prohibition.

नानेन इको निर्वर्त्यन्ते

Iks are not made to appear by this *sūtra*.

किं तर्हि? What then?

अनिको निवर्त्यन्ते ; सिद्धा ह्यत्र ह्रस्वा इकश्चानिकश्च ; तत्रानेन अनिको निवर्त्यन्ते ।

The *aniks* are prohibited ; short letters, both *iks* and *aniks* are ready and of them *aniks* are prohibited.

सवर्णनिवृत्त्यर्थेन तावन्नार्थः

Firstly *savarṇanivṛtti* cannot be a *prayōjana.*

सिद्धमेङः सस्थानत्वात्

It is accomplished with reference to *ēṅ*, on account of the same place of articulation.

सिद्धमेतत् It is accomplished.

कथम् How ?

एङः सस्थानत्वात् इकारोकारौ भविष्यतः, अर्द्ध एकारोऽर्द्ध ओकारो वा न भविष्यति ।

I and *u* replace *ēṅ*, they having the same place of articulation and hence half *ĕ* and half *ŏ* do not come in.

ननु चैङः सस्थानतरावर्धैकाराद्धौकारौ ?

Is it not that half *ĕ* and half *ŏ* have their place of articulation nearer to that of ē and ō ?

न तौ स्तः ; यदि हि तौ स्यातां तावेवायमुपदिशेत् ।

They do not exist; if they were to exist, he would have mentioned only them.

ननु च भोश्छन्दोगानां सात्यमुग्रिराणायनीया अर्द्धमेकारमर्द्धमोकारं चाधीयते · सुजाते ए अश्व सूनृते, अध्वर्यो ओ अद्रिभिः सुतं, शुक्रं ते ए अन्यत्, यजतं ते ए अन्यत् इति ?

Oh ! sir, is it not that those who belong to *Sātyamugri* and *Rāṇāyanīya* recensions, among *Sāmavēdins*, read half *ĕ* and half *ŏ* in *sujātē e aśvasūnṛtē, adhvaryō o adribhiḥ sutam, śukram tē e anyat, yajatam tē e anyat.*

पार्षदकृतिरेषां तत्रभवताम् ; नैव लोके नान्यस्मिन् वेदे अर्द्ध एकारः अर्द्ध ओकारो वास्ति ।

It is the work of a section of revered men ; neither in ordinary usage nor in any other *Vēda* does exist half *ĕ* or half *ŏ*.

अकारनिवृत्त्यर्थेनापि नार्थः

Akāranivṛtti, too, cannot be a *prayōjana.*

ऐचोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वात्

On account of *āic* having more of the second element.

ऐचोश्चोत्तरभूयस्त्वाद् अवर्णो न भविष्यति । भूयसी मात्रा इवर्णोवर्णयोः, अल्पीयसी अवर्णस्य । भूयस एव ग्रहणानि भविष्यन्ति ; तद्यथा - ब्राह्मणग्राम आनीयतामित्युच्यते, तत्र च अवरतः पञ्चकारुकी भवति ।

A cannot replace *ē* or *ō*, since *āic* have more of the second element. *I* and *u* have greater *mātrās* than *a*. Only those that predominate are taken into action. For instance it is said 'Let Brahman village come', though there exist five kinds of artisans in the locality.

NOTE :—(1) This *sūtra* is necessary, according to the *Sūtrakāra*, since he has mentioned different places of articulation for *ēc* and *ik*. According to the *Vārttikakāra ē* and *i*, and *ō* and *u* have the same place of articulation and *āi* and *āu* have half *mātrā* of *a* and one and a half *mātrās* of *i* and *u* respectively and therefore the *sūtra* is unnecessary.

NOTE :—(2) Since *ē* and *i*, and *ō* and *u* are said to have the same place of articulation in the *Kātyāyana Prātiśākhya*, it is possible that the author of the same and that of the *vārttikas* here may be identical.

षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा (1, 1, 49)

There are *five* topics here :—1. The *vigrahavākya* of the word *sthānēyōgā* ; 2. the purpose served by the *sūtra* 3. the different ways of interpreting the word *ayōgā* by taking *sthānēyōgā* as a phrase consisting of the words *sthānē* and *ayōgā* 4. whether there is any need for any *liṅga* in the *sūtra* to suggest that the *ṣaṣṭhī* is *sthānēṣaṣṭhī* 5. *Mahābhāṣyakāra's* arriving at the purpose served by the *sūtra* in the sense taken by the *Vārttikakāra* through *lāukikanyāya* and suggesting another meaning to the *sūtra*.

किमिदं स्थानेयोगेति ?

What is it—*sthānēyōgā* ? (i.e.) is it a compound word in which case the presence of the case-suffix in *sthānē* is not

necessary or is it a phrase made up of the words *sthānē* and *yōgā* in which case *yōgā* should be *yuktiḥ*.

स्थाने योगोऽस्याः सेयं स्थानेयोगा, सप्तम्यलोपो निपातनात् । तृतीयाया वा एत्वम्, स्थानेन योगोऽस्याः सेयं स्थानेयोगेति ।

The word *sthānēyōgā* is split as *sthānē yōgaḥ asyāḥ sā*, the absence of the elision of the seventh case-suffix being through *nipātana*. Or it may be split as *sthānēna yōgaḥ asyāḥ sā*, where *ē* for the third-case suffix is through *nipātana*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that some take the word *sthāna* to mean *artha* and many to mean *prasaṅga*.

II

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते? Why is this *sūtra* read?

1 षष्ठीस्थानेयोगवचनं नियमार्थम्

The mention of the *sūtra Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā* is for *niyama*.

नियमार्थोऽयमारम्भः This *sūtra* is for the sake of *niyama*.

एकशतं षष्ठ्यर्थाः; यावन्तो वा सन्ति ते सर्वे षष्ठ्यामुच्चरितायां प्राप्नुवन्ति; इष्यते च, व्याकरणे या षष्ठी सा स्थानेयोगैव स्यादिति । तच्चान्तरेण यत्नं न सिध्यतीति षष्ठ्याः स्थानेयोगवचनं नियमार्थम् । एवमर्थमिदमुच्यते ।

The meanings of the sixth case suffix are 101; the moment the sixth case suffix is mentioned, all the meanings which it has have a chance to be applied there; it is desired that the *ṣaṣṭhī* in grammar is only *sthānēyōgā*. Since it is not accomplished without effort, the *sūtra* is read for the sake of *niyama*. The *sūtra* is read only with this purpose in view.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that the hundred and one meanings of *ṣaṣṭhī* are given in the work *Ṣaṣṭhīdaṇḍakapāṭha*.

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत्? Is this the *prayōjana*?

किं तर्हीति? What then?

अवयवषष्ठ्यादिष्वतिप्रसङ्गः शासो गोह इति

Ativyāpti (of this *sūtra*) in places of *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* etc., as with reference to the roots *śās*, *guh*.

1. Bombay Edition reads षष्ठ्याः

अवयवषष्ठ्यादयस्तु न सिध्यन्ति

The purposes of *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* etc. are not served.

तत्र को दोषः? What is the harm then?

शासो गोह इति - शास इदङ्हलोः (6, 4, 34) इति शासेश्चान्त्यस्य स्यादुपधामात्रस्य च । ऊदुपधाया गोहः (6, 4, 89) इति गोहेश्चान्त्यस्य स्यादुपधामात्रस्य च ।

Sāsō gōha iti—In the *sūtra Śāsa idaṅ halōh*, *i* will replace *antya* and *upadhā of śās*. Similarly in the *sūtra Ūd upadhāyā gōhaḥ* *ū* will replace the *antya* and *upadhā* of the root *guh*.

अवयवषष्ठ्यादीनां चाप्राप्तिर्योगस्यासन्दिग्धत्वात्

Non-coming of *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* etc., on account of the absence of ambiguity in the *sūtra*.

अवयवषष्ठ्यादीनां च नियमस्याप्राप्तिः

There is no chance for the *sūtras* dealing with *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* to come within the province of this *sūtra*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

योगस्यासन्दिग्धत्वात् Since there is no ambiguity in the *sūtra*.

सन्देहे नियमः, न चावयवषष्ठ्यादिषु सन्देहः

When there is ambiguity, this *sūtra* operates and there is no ambiguity in the *sūtras* relating to *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* etc.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत्? Is this to be said?

न हि — No, need not.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते?

How is it to be understood if it is not said?

लौकिकोऽयं दृष्टान्तः - तद्यथा, लोके कश्चित् कञ्चित् पृच्छति 'ग्रामान्तरं गमिष्यामि, पन्थानं मे भवान् उपदिशतु' इति । स तस्मायाचष्टे, 'अमुष्मिन्नवकाशे हस्तदक्षिणो ग्रहीतव्यः, अमुष्मिन्नवकाशे हस्तवामः' इति । यस्तत्र तिर्यक्पथो भवति न तस्मिन्संदेह इति कृत्वा नासावुपदिश्यते । एवमिहापि सन्देहे नियमः, न चावयवषष्ठ्यादिषु सन्देहः ॥

There is this decision in the world. Suppose one says to another, 'I wish to go to another village and kindly direct me.' He replies to him, 'You should turn to the right in this place and to the left here.' He is not given any direction if there is a transverse path, since there is no difficulty for him to decide the right path. So also this *sūtra Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā* operates wherever there is a doubt. In cases of *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* etc. there is no room for any doubt.

III

अथवा स्थाने अयोगा स्थानेयोगा

Or *sthānēyōgā* is considered as a phrase made up of the words *sthānē* and *ayōgā*.

NOTE:—It seems that *Mahābhāṣyakāra* gives his own opinion from here to the end of this *sūtra*, though Benares edition has reconstructed some as *vārttikas*.

किमिदमयोगेति ? What is this—*ayōgā* ?

अव्यक्तयोगा अयोगा

Ayōgā means that where the *sambandha* is not clear.

अथवा योगवती योगा

Or *yōgā* may be taken in the sense of *yōgavatī*.

का पुनर्योगवती ? What is the meaning of *yōgavatī* ?

यस्य बह्वो योगाः That which has many *yōgas*.

कुत एतत् ? How is this arrived at ?

भूम्नि हि मतुब् भवति

The suffix *matup* is used to denote *many*.

NOTE:—The *sūtra* then means that the *ṣaṣṭhī* which has many *sambandhins* becomes *sthānē ṣaṣṭhī* when there is a doubt.

IV

विशिष्टा वा षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा

The *ṣaṣṭhī* which has a characteristic is *sthānēyōgā*.

M. 5

NOTE:—This may be taken as *Mahābhāṣyakāra's sūtra*-like statement, which is explained by himself.

अथवा किञ्चिल्लिङ्गमासज्य वक्ष्यामि 'इत्थंलिङ्गा षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा भवति' इति, न च तल्लिङ्गम् अवयवषष्ठ्यादिषु करिष्यते ।

Or shall I provide it with a characteristic sign and say that the *ṣaṣṭhī* with this sign is *sthānēyōgā* and *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* and others are not provided with that sign.

यद्येवं 'शास इदङ् हलोः' 'शा हौ' शासिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् - स्थानेयोगार्थं लिङ्गमासङ्क्ष्यामि इति ।

If so, the word *śāsaḥ* should be read in the *sūtra* '*Śā hāu* (6, 4, 35) which follows the *sūtra Śāsa idaṅ halōḥ* (6, 4, 34), so that it may be provided with the *liṅga* denoting *sthānē-yōgatvam*.

NOTE:—As it is, there is *anuvṛtti* to the word *śāsaḥ* from the previous *sūtra*. It is *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* there and hence it would be devoid of the sign for *sthānēṣaṣṭhī*. So there will be need to read *śāsaḥ* here.

न कर्तव्यम्; यदेव अदः पुरस्तादवयवषष्ठ्यर्थं प्रकृतमेतदुत्तरत्रानुवृत्तं सत् स्थानेयोगार्थं भविष्यति ।

No, it need not be done; that which is used in the previous *sūtra* denoting *avayavasambandha* is taken here to denote *sthānēyōga*.

कथम् How?

अधिकारो नाम त्रिप्रकारः — 1. कश्चिदेकदेशस्थः सर्वं शास्त्रमभिज्वलयति यथा प्रदीपः सुप्रज्वलितः सर्वं देशमभिज्वलयति । 2. अपरोऽधिकारो यथा रज्ज्वायसा वा बद्धं काष्ठमनुकृष्यते तद्वदनुकृष्यते चकारेण । 3. अपरोऽधिकारः प्रतियोगं तस्यानिर्देशार्थ इति योगेयोगे उपतिष्ठते । तद्यदेष पक्षः - अधिकारः प्रतियोगं तस्यानिर्देशार्थ इति, तदा हि यदेवादः पुरस्तादवयवषष्ठ्यर्थमेतदुत्तरत्रानुवृत्तं सत् स्थानेयोगार्थं भविष्यति ।

Adhikāra is of three kinds:—(1) One stands in one place and has purview throughout the whole *śāstra* like a well-lighted lamp which throws its light throughout its range. (2) The

second is one which is taken to another place by the word *ca*, as a log of wood tied to a rope or an ironchain. (3) The third is that which is taken to each *sūtra* that follows to avoid repetition. Here when this *pakṣa* that it is meant to avoid repetition in each *sūtra* is taken, that which is stated in the previous *sūtra* to denote *avayavayōga* is taken here and is made to denote *sthānēyōga*.

संप्रत्ययमात्रमेतद्भवति । न ह्यनुच्चार्य शब्दं लिङ्गं शक्यमासङ्क्तुम् ।
This can only be inferred; for it is not possible to understand the *linga*, unless the word is pronounced.

एवं तर्ह्यादेशे तल्लिङ्गं करिष्यते, तत्प्रकृतिमास्कन्त्स्यति
If so, the *ādēśa* is provided with the *linga* and it will step over the *prakrti*.

यदि नियमः क्रियते, यत्रैका षष्ठी अनेकं च विशेष्यं तत्र न सिध्यति - अङ्गस्य हलः अणः संप्रसारणस्य इति ; हलपि विशेष्योऽणपि विशेष्यः, सम्प्रसारणमपि विशेष्यम् । असति पुनर्नियमे, कामचारः एकया षष्ठ्या अनेकं विशेषयितुम् - तद्यथा देवदत्तस्य पुत्रः पाणिः कम्बल इति । तस्मान्नार्थो नियमेन ।

If recourse is taken to *niyama*, there is difficulty when *ṣaṣṭhī* is one and the *viśēṣyas* are many. In the *sūtra Halaḥ* (6, 4, 2) where there is *anuvṛtti* for *angasya* from the previous *sūtra*, *angasya* is in the sixth case and its *viśēṣyas* are *hal*, *aṇ* and *samprasāraṇam*. If there is no *niyama*, it is possible for one *ṣaṣṭhī* to have many *viśēṣyas*, as in the statement *Dēvadatta's* son, palm and blanket. Hence *niyama* is not necessary.

NOTE :—The relation between *Dēvadatta* and son is *pitā-putratva*, that between him and palm is *avayavyavayavatva* and that between him and blanket is *svasvāmibhāva*. Since the *sūtra Halaḥ* means *angāvayavāt halaḥ param yad angāntyā-vayava - aṇrūpasamprasāraṇam tasya dīrghaḥ*, the *ṣaṣṭhī* in *angasya* has to quality the *viśēṣyas* differently.

V

ननु चोक्तम् एकशतं षष्ठ्यर्थाः, यावन्तो वा सन्ति ते सर्वे षष्ठ्यामुच्चारितायां प्राप्नुवन्तीति

Has it not been said that the sixth case suffix has one hundred and one meanings and all the possible meanings make their appearance when the sixth case-suffix is mentioned ?

नैष दोषः; यद्यपि लोके बह्वोऽभिसम्बन्धाः आर्था यौनाः मौखाः स्रौवाश्चेति, शब्दस्य तु शब्देन कोऽन्यो अभिसम्बन्धो भवितुमर्हति अन्यदतः स्थानात्?

This difficulty does not arise; even though there are different kinds of relationship in the world through property, birth, instruction and sacrifice, what relationship is there between one word and another other than the *prasaṅga* ?

NOTE :—*Svasvāmitvasambandha* is through property, *pitāputratva* is through birth, *guruśiṣyabhāvatva* is through instruction and *yajamānartviktva* is through sacrifice.

शब्दस्यापि शब्देनानन्तरादयोऽभिसम्बन्धाः । अस्तेर्भूर्भवतीति सन्देहः स्थाने, अनन्तरे, समीपे इति

Why, there are, even between one word and another, the relationships of immediate proximity etc. When it is said *bhū* is for *as*, there is the doubt whether it replaces it, or it is used immediatly after it or near it.

सन्देहमात्रमेतद्भवति । सर्वसन्देहेषु चेदमुपतिष्ठते - व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्नहि सन्देहादलक्षणम् - इति । स्थान इति व्याख्यास्यामः ।

Surely there arises the doubt. But in all cases of doubt there springs the principle that the doubt is cleared through commentary and the *śāstra* should not be considered defective on account of a doubt. We explain that the meaning of *ṣaṣṭhī* here is *prasaṅga*.

न तर्हीदानीमयं योगो वक्तव्यः If so, this *sūtra* need not be read.

वक्तव्यश्च It has to be read.

किं प्रयोजनम्? What for?

षष्ठ्यन्तं स्थानेन यथा युज्येत यतः षष्ठ्युच्चारिता

The word after which the sixth case suffix is used goes with *sthānitva.*

किं कृतं भवति? What is it that is achieved?

निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति इत्येषा परिभाषा न कर्तव्या भवति ।
There is no need to formulate the *paribhāṣā* ‘*Nirdiśyamānasya ādēśā bhavanti.*’

NOTE :—*Vārttikakāra* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra* differ in the interpretation of this *sūtra*; according to the former it means ‘*anirdhāritasambandhaviśēṣā ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā bōdhyā*’ and according to the latter, ‘*nirdiśyamānasya ādēśā bhavanti.*’

स्थानेऽन्तरतमः (1, 1, 50)

There are *ten* topics here :—(1) What is the *udāharaṇa* here? (2) What is the need for reading *sthānē* here when it is possible to take it from the previous *sūtra?* (3) What is the need for *tamap* in the *sūtra?* (4) Is it a *niyamavidhi*? (5) Are we to read the *sūtra—Sthānē antaratamaḥ* or *Sthānē antaratamē?* (6) Is this *sūtra nirvartaka* or *pratipādaka* (7) Is there any need to read *pratyātmam* in the *sūtra* or *antaratama* (8) Is it always possible that the *ādēśas* have the same quantity as *sthānins?* (9) What happens when there is a chance for *ṛ* to take *guṇa* or *vṛddhi?* and (10) What happens when there is *ēkādēśa* for *ēc* and *akāra* ?

I

किमुदाहरणम् ? What is the *udāharaṇa* ?

NOTE :—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* reads :—‘ *Sāmānyatō jñātasya viśēṣākārēṇa yatra pratipattiḥ tad udāharaṇam.*’

‘इको यणचि,’ दध्यत्र, मध्वत्र, तालुस्थानस्य तालुस्थानः ओष्ठस्थानस्य ओष्ठस्थानो यथा स्यादिति

The *udāharaṇas* are *dadhyatra* and *madhvatra* where the palatal *i* is replaced by palatal *y* and the labial *u* is replaced by labio-dental *v* on the operation of the *sūtra Ikō yaṇ aci*.

नैतदस्ति ; सङ्ख्यातानुदेशेनाप्येतत्सिद्धम् ।

This is not a sound *udāharaṇa*; it may be accomplished even through the principle of ‘the operation in the same order.’

इदं तर्हि तस्थस्थमिपां तांतंतामः इति, एकार्थस्यैकार्थो द्व्यर्थस्य द्व्यर्थो बह्वर्थस्य बह्वर्थो यथा स्यादिति

This, then, may serve as *udāharaṇa*— *tām tam, ta* and *am* replacing *tas, thas, tha* and *mi*, when the singular *sthānin* gets the singular *ādēśa*, the dual *sthānin* gets the dual *ādēśa* and the plural *sthānin* gets the plural *ādēśa*.

ननु च एतदपि सङ्ख्यातानुदेशेनैव सिद्धम्

Oh, this too is accomplished by the principle of 'the operation in the same order.'

इदं तर्हि 'अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः' इति, दण्डाग्रम्, क्षुपाग्रम्, दधीन्द्रः, मधूष्ट्रः, कण्ठस्थानयोः कण्ठस्थानः, तालुस्थानयोस्तालुस्थानः, ओष्ठस्थानयोरोष्ठस्थानो यथा स्यादिति ।

This then is the *udāharaṇa* : –*daṇḍāgram, kṣupāgram, dadhīndraḥ* and *madhūṣṭraḥ*, where guttural *ādēśa* has replaced guttural *sthānins*, palatal *ādēśa* palatal *sthānins* and labial *ādēśa* labial *sthānins* by the operation of the *sūtra* '*Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ*.'

II

अथ स्थान इति वर्तमाने पुनः स्थानग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

Why should the word *sthānē* be read here again, when it can be taken here by *anuvṛtti* from the previous *sūtra* ?

[1] यत्रानेकविधमान्तर्यं तत्र स्थानत एवान्तर्यं बलीयो यथा स्यात्

So that the similarity in the place of articulation may predominate among diverse kinds of similarity.

किं पुनस्तत् How is it ?

चेता, स्तोता ; प्रमाणतोऽकारो गुणः प्राप्नोति स्थानतः एकारौकारौ ; पुनः स्थानग्रहणादेकारौकारौ भवतः ।

In the words *cētā* and *stōtā* (where *i* of *ci* and *u* of *stu* have taken *guṇa*), *a* has the chance on account of its having the same *mātrā* as the *sthānin* and *ē* and *ō* have the chance on account of their having the same place of articulation as the *sthānin* ; *ē* and *ō* take the place of the *sthānin* on account of reading the word *sthānē* here again.

1. अनेकम् is Bombay reading.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that there is need to take to *vākya-bhēda* and the *sūtra* means '*sthānē antaratamō bhavati ; yatra ca anēkam āntaryam asti, tatra sthānakṛtam āntaryam ēva āśrīyatē*' and the *liṅga* for taking to it is the mention of *tamap*.

III

अथ [1] तमब्ग्रहणं किमर्थम् ? What for is the reading of *tamap* ?

'झयो हो अन्यतरस्याम्' इत्यत्र सोष्मणः सोष्माणः इति द्वितीयाः प्रसक्ताः, नादवतो नादवन्तः इति तृतीयाः प्रसक्ताः । तमब्ग्रहणाद् ये सोष्माणो नादवन्तश्च ते भवन्ति चतुर्थाः - वाग्घसति, त्रिष्टुब्भसति इति ।

When the words *vāk* and *hasati* and *triṣṭup* and *hasati* combine together, the *sūtra Jhayō hō anyatarasyām* operates. There is chance for the second letters of the *varga* to replace *h*, since both are fricatives and there is chance for the third letters of the *varga* to replace it, since both are voiced ; but, on account of the mention of *tamap*, only the fourth letters of the *varga* which are both voiced ones and fricatives replace it.

IV

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते ? What for is this *sūtra* ?

स्थानिन एकत्वनिर्देशादनेकादेशनिर्देशाच्च सर्वप्रसङ्गः, तस्मात् स्थानेन्तरतमवचनं नियमार्थम्

Sthānin being one and *ādēśas* being many, there is chance for all and hence this *sūtra Sthānē antaratamaḥ* is for restriction.

स्थानी एकत्वेन निर्दिश्यते, अक इति

Only one *sthānin* is mentioned as *akaḥ* (in the *sūtra* '*Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ*').

NOTE :—Even though *akaḥ* may connote many, only one among *akaḥ* finds mention in the word.

अनेकश्च पुनरादेशः प्रतिनिर्दिश्यते, दीर्घ इति

Many are the *ādēśas* ascribed as *dīrghaḥ*.

स्थानिन एकत्वनिर्देशादनेकादेशनिर्देशाच्च सर्वप्रसङ्गः, सर्वे सर्वत्र प्राप्नुवन्ति

1. Bombay Edition reads तमग्रहणम्

Since the *sthānin* is one and there is mention of many *ādēśas*, there is chance for all to appear and all may be used everywhere.

इष्यते चान्तरतमा एव स्युः इति

It is desired that only those that have the greatest similarity should replace the *sthānin.*

तच्चान्तरेण यत्नं न सिध्यति

That cannot be achieved without effort.

तस्मात् स्थानेऽन्तरतमः इति वचनं नियमार्थम्

Hence the *sūtra Sthānē antaratamaḥ* is for *niyama.*

एवमर्थमिदमुच्यते This is the purpose for mentioning it.

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत्? Is this the *prayōjana*?

किं तर्हीति? What then?

V

यथा पुनरियमन्तरतमनिर्वृत्तिः सा किं प्रकृतितो भवति स्थानिन्यन्तरतमे षष्ठीति, आहोस्विद् आदेशतः स्थाने प्राप्यमाणानामन्तरतम आदेशो भवति इति?

Is this *antaratama* an adjunct to *sthānin* so that the *sūtra* may mean *ṣaṣṭhī* comes where the *sthānin* is *antaratama* to *ādēśa* or an adjnnct to *ādēsa* so that it may mean that, of all *ādēsas*, that which is *antaratama* is substituted?

कुतः पुनरियं विचारणा? Whence does this discussion arise?

उभयथापि तुल्या संहिता 'स्थानेऽन्तरतम उरण् रपरः' इति ।

If the two *sūtras Sthānē antaratamaḥ* and *Sthānē antaratamē* are read together with the following *sūtra Uraṇ raparaḥ*, the reading happens to be the same.

NOTE :—1. From this it is clear that the *Saṁhitāpāṭha* was earlier.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says, '*Saptamyantapakṣē ṣaṣṭhī iti vartatē, antaratamō ya ādēśasya sthānī tatrāiva ṣaṣṭhī, yatrāiva ṣaṣṭhī tatra ādēsa iti prakṛtir niyamyatē; prathamāntapakṣē tu antaratama ādēsō bhavati iti ādēsō niyamyatē.*'

किं चातः ? What if ?

यदि प्रकृतितः, इको यणचि - यणां येऽन्तरतमा इकस्तत्र षष्ठी, यत्र षष्ठी तत्रादेशा भवन्ति इति इहैव स्यात् दध्यत्र, मध्वत्र ; कुमार्यर्थं, ब्रह्मबन्ध्वर्थम् इत्यत्र न स्यात् । आदेशतः पुनरन्तरतमनिर्वृत्तौ सत्यां सर्वत्र षष्ठी, यत्र षष्ठी तत्रादेशा भवन्ति इति सर्वत्र सिद्धं भवति ।

If the *antaratamatva* is with reference to *sthānin*, the *sūtra Ikō yaṇ aci* will have to be interpreted thus :—*Ṣaṣṭhī* comes in where the *iks* are *antaratama* to *yaṇ* and *ādēśas* will set in where there is *ṣaṣṭhī ;* the result is that the *sūtra* will operate when *dadhi* and *atra*, and *madhu* and *atra* combine together and will not operate when *kumārī* and *artham* and *brahma-bandhu* and *artham* combine (since short vowels which have one *mātrā* are closer to the *ādēśa yaṇ* which has half a *mātrā* than long vowels which have two *mātrās*). If the *antaratamatva* is with reference to *ādēśa*, *ṣaṣṭhī* comes in all cases and *ādēśas*, set in there and the *sūtra* operates in all cases.

तथा इको गुणवृद्धी - गुणवृद्ध्योर्येऽन्तरतमा इकस्तत्र षष्ठी यत्र षष्ठी तत्रादेशा भवन्तीति इहैव स्यात् नेता लविता नायकः लावकः, चेता स्तोता चायकः स्तावकः इत्यत्र न स्यात् । आदेशतः पुनरन्तरतमनिर्वृत्तौ सत्यां सर्वत्र षष्ठी, यत्र षष्ठी तत्रादेशा भवन्तीति सर्वत्र सिद्धं भवतीति ।

(The same is the case where *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* are enjoined to *ik* by the *sūtras Sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ* (7, 3, 84), *Acō ñṇiti* (7, 2, 115). If the *antaratamatva* is with reference to *sthānin*, *ṣaṣṭhī* sets in where there are *iks* which are *antaratama* to *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* and *ādēśas* come in where there is *ṣaṣṭhī*, so that *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* will replace *ik* only in *nētā*, *lavitā*, *nāyakaḥ* and *lāvakaḥ* (since the final of the roots is *ī* and *ū* which have two *mātrās* and are *antaratama* to *ē*, *ō*, *āi* and *āu* which have two *mātrās*) and not in *cētā*, *stōtā*, *cāyakaḥ*, *stāvakaḥ* (where the final of the roots is *i* and *u* which has only one *mātrā*). If the *antaratamatva* is with reference to *ādēśa*, *ṣaṣṭhī* comes everywhere and the *ādēśas* set in wherever there is *ṣaṣṭhī* and consequently the *sūtras* operate in all cases.

तथा ऋवर्णस्य गुणवृद्धिप्रसङ्गे, गुणवृद्ध्योः यदन्तरतममृवर्णं तत्र षष्ठी, यत्र षष्ठी तत्रादेशा भवन्तीति, इहैव स्यात् कर्ता हर्ता आस्तारकः निपारकः इति, आस्तरिता निपरिता कारकः हारकः इत्यत्र न स्यात् । आदेशतः पुनरन्तरतमनिर्वृत्तौ सत्यां सर्वत्र षष्ठी, यत्र षष्ठी तत्र आदेशा भवन्तीति सर्वत्र सिद्धं भवतीति ।

Similarly when *ṛ* or *ṝ* has a chance to take *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*, *ṣaṣṭhī* comes in where *ṛ* or *ṝ* is *antaratama* to *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* and *ādēśa* sets in where *ṣaṣṭhī* is, so that *guṇa* comes in *kartā* and *hartā* (where the root ends in *ṛ*) and *vṛddhi* in *āstāraka* and *nipāraka*; but *guṇa* does not replace *ṝ* in *āstaritā* and *niparitā* and *vṛddhi* in *kāraka* ahd *hāraka*. If the *antaratamatva* is with reference to *ādēśa*, *ṣaṣṭhī* comes everywhere and the *ādēśas* set in wherever there is *ṣaṣṭhī* and consequently the *sūtras* operate in all cases.

अथादेशतोऽन्तरतमनिर्वृत्तौ सत्यामयं दोषः, 'वान्तो यि प्रत्यये' (6, 1, 79) स्थानिनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः, ओकारौकारयोरिति वक्तव्यम्, एकारैकारयोर्मा भूदिति ; प्रकृतितः पुनरन्तरतमनिर्वृत्तौ सत्यां वान्तादेशस्य एक्षु या अन्तरतमा प्रकृतिस्तत्र षष्ठी, यत्र षष्ठी तत्र आदेशा भवन्ति इति अन्तरेण स्थानिनिर्देशं सिद्धं भवति ।

If, then, *antaratamatva* is with reference to *ādēśa*, there is difficulty in the operation of the *sūtra Vāntō yi pratyayē*; mention of *sthānin* has to be made, so that the *ādēśa* should replace *ō* and *āu* and not *ē* and *āi* (since, otherwise there will be *anuvṛtti* to *ēcaḥ* from the previous *sūtra*); if, on the other hand, the *antaratamatva* is with reference to *sthānin*, *ṣaṣṭhī* comes in with reference to only those letters in *ēc* which are *antaratama* to *vāntādēśa*, *ādēsa* comes in where there is *ṣaṣṭhī* and the object is achieved without the mention of *sthānin*.

आदेशतोऽप्यन्तरतमनिर्वृत्तौ सत्यां न दोषः

There is no harm even if *antaratamatva* is with reference to *ādēśa*.

कथम्? How?

वान्तग्रहणं न करिष्यते ; यि प्रत्यये - एचोऽयादयो भवन्तीत्येव ।

The word *vāntaḥ* is not read; the *sūtra* is only '*Yi pratyayē*' which means that *ēc* are replaced by *ay* etc. when they are followed by *pratyaya* commencing with *y*.

यदि न क्रियते, चेयं जेयम् इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If it is not read, the *sūtra* will operate where the roots *ci* and *jī* are followed by the *pratyaya ya*, so that *cēyam* and *jēyam* will change to *cayyam* and *jayyam*.

क्षय्यजय्यौ शक्यार्थे (6, 1, 81) इत्येतन्नियमार्थं भविष्यति क्षिज्योरेवैचः इति

The *sūtra Kṣayyajayyāu śakyārthē* is taken as a *niyamasūtra*, so that it restricts the change of *ē* to *ay* only with reference to the roots *kṣi* and *jī*.

तयोस्तर्हि शक्यार्थादन्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति, क्षेयं पापं, जेयो वृषलः इति

If so, the *sūtra* will operate with reference to those roots in meanings other than *śakyārtha* in such instances as *kṣēyam pāpam* and *jēyō vṛṣalaḥ*.

उभयतो नियमो विज्ञास्यते, क्षिज्योरेवैचः, [1] अनयोश्च शक्यार्थ एव इति ।

It is taken that the *niyama* is both ways:—the change of *ē* to *ay* is only with reference to the roots *kṣi* and *jī* and that too only in *śakyārtha*.

इहापि तर्हि नियमान्न प्राप्नोति लव्यं, पव्यं, अवश्यलाव्यम् अवश्यपाव्यम् इति ।

If so, the change of *ō* to *av* in *lavyam* and *pavyam* and that of *āu* to *āv* in *avaśyalāvyam* and *avaśyapāvyam* will not take place.

तुल्यजातीयस्य नियमः

Niyama will operate only in similar cases.

कश्च तुल्यजातीयः? Which is the similar case?

यथाजातीयकः क्षिज्योरेच् The *ēc* similar to that in *kṣi* and *jī*.

कथंजातीयकः क्षिज्योरेच्? What is the nature of *ēc* in *kṣi* and *jī*?

एकारः *Ēkāra*.

एवमपि रायमिच्छति रैयति, [2] अत्रापि प्राप्नोति

1. Bombay Edition reads तयोः
2. Bombay Edition reads इत्यत्र

If so, *āi* will be replaced by *āy* in the form *rāiyati* which means *rāyam icchati*.

रायिश्छान्दसः, दृष्टानुविधिश्छन्दसि भवति

The root *rāi* is used only in *Vēdas* and *lakṣaṇa* has to suit the form found there.

NOTE :—Since *Sūtrakāra* has read the word *vāntaḥ* in the *sūtra*, he gives room to think that, in his opinion, the *sūtra* may be split in both ways :—*Sthānē antaratamaḥ* and *Sthānē antaratamē.* Hence *Bhaṭṭōji Dīkṣita* has recorded in his *Śabdakāustubha* thus :—'*Sthānēntaratama ityatra tantrēṇa dvēdhā chēdaḥ Sūtrakṛtaḥ sammataḥ. Bhāṣyōktarītyā lāukikanyāyāśrayēṇa sūtrapratyākhyānapakṣēpi hi prakṛtitaḥ ādēśataśca ityubhayathāpi antaratamanirvṛttiḥ astyēva. Sūtrakṛtō matē vācanikī sā ; Bhāṣyakṛtastu nyāyasiddhā.*'

ऊदुपधाया गोहः — आदेशतोऽन्तरतमनिर्वृत्तौ सत्यामुपधाग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ; प्रकृतितः पुनरन्तरतमनिर्वृत्तौ सत्यामूकारस्य गोहो या अन्तरतमा प्रकृतिस्तत्र षष्ठी, यत्र षष्ठी तत्रादेशा भवन्तीत्यन्तरेणोपधाग्रहणं सिद्धं भवति ।

If *antaratamatva* is with reference to *ādēśa*, the word *upadhā* is necessary in the *sūtra* '*Ūd upadhāyā gōhaḥ*; if it is with reference to *prakṛti, ṣaṣṭhī* comes in where the *prakṛti* in *gōha* is *antaratama* with *ū*, and *ādēśas* come in where there is *ṣaṣṭhī* and hence the desired object is achieved without the mention of the word *upadhā*.

आदेशतोऽप्यन्तरतमनिर्वृत्तौ सत्यां न दोषः, क्रियते एतन्न्यास एव

There is no harm, even if *antaratamatva* is with reference to *ādēśa* ; the word does find a mention in the *sūtra* itself.

'रदाभ्यां निष्ठा तो नः पूर्वस्य च दः' - आदेशतोऽन्तरतमनिर्वृत्तौ सत्यां तकारग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् । प्रकृतितः पुनरन्तरतमनिर्वृत्तौ सत्यां नकारस्य निष्ठायां या अन्तरतमा प्रकृतिस्तत्न षष्ठी, यत्र षष्ठी तत्रादेशा भवन्तीत्यन्तरेणापि तकारग्रहणं सिद्धं भवति ।

If the *antaratamatva* is with reference to *ādēśa*, *takāra* need not be read in the *sūtra* '*Radābhyām niṣṭhā tō naḥ pūrvasya ca daḥ*'; if it is with reference to *prakṛti*, *ṣaṣṭhī* sets in the *prakṛti* which is *antaratama* to *nakāra of niṣṭhā*, the *ādēśas*

come in where there is *ṣaṣṭhī* and the object is achieved without the mention of *takāra*.

आदेशतोऽप्यन्तरतमनिर्वृत्तौ सत्यां न दोषः, क्रियते एतन्न्यास एव ।

Even if *antaratamatva* is with reference to *ādēśa*, there is no harm ; it is read in the *sūtra*.

VI

किं पुनरिदं निर्वर्तकम् - अन्तरतमा अनेन निर्वर्त्यन्ते, आहोस्वित् प्रतिपादकम् - अन्येन निर्वृत्तानामनेन प्रतिपत्तिः ?

Is this *svatantra-lakṣaṇa* where those that are *antaratamas* are enjoined, or *viśēṣapratipādaka-lakṣaṇa* where new characteristics to those that are enjoined in other *svatantra-lakṣaṇa* are mentioned ?

कश्चात्र विशेषः ? What will be the difference here ?

[1] **स्थानेऽन्तरतमनिर्वर्तके सर्वस्थानिनिवृत्तिः**

If *Sthānē 'ntaratamaḥ* is *nirvartaka, nivṛtti* of all *sthānins* will happen.

स्थानेऽन्तरतमे निर्वर्तके, सर्वस्थानिनां निवृत्तिः प्राप्नोति, अस्यापि प्राप्नोति दधि मधु ।

If the *sūtra* ' *Sthānē antaratamaḥ* ' is taken as a *svatantravidhi*, there is chance for *nivṛtti* of all *sthānins* and the *nivṛtti* of *dadhi* and *madhu* too will happen.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says ' *Bhinnarūpastvādēśaḥ tadarthasya apratyāyakaḥ iti śabdavyavahārōtsāda ēva.*'

अस्तु, न कश्चिदन्य आदेशः प्रतिनिर्दिश्यते ; तत्र आन्तर्यतो दधिशब्दस्य दधिशब्द एव, मधुशब्दस्य मधुशब्द एवादेशो भविष्यति

Let it be ; no other *ādēśa* is mentioned ; hence *dadhi* becomes the *ādēśa* of *dadhi* through close similarity and *madhu*, the *ādēśa* of *madhu*.

यदि चैवं, क्वचिद्वैरूप्यं, तत्र दोषः स्यात् बिसं, मुसलमिति, इण् कोः आदेशप्रत्यययोः इति षत्वं प्राप्नोति ।

If so, there will be difficulty when there is slight change in form ; *s* in *bisam* and *musalam* wil be changed to *ṣ* by the *sūtra* ' *Ādēśapratyayayōḥ* which follows the *sūtra* ' *Iṇ kōḥ* '

1. Bombay Edition reads स्थानेऽन्तरतमे ।

NOTE :—If the word *bisa* is considered as the *ādēśa* of *bisa*, there is no chance for *ṣatva* ; if, on the other hand, *s* is considered as the *ādēśa* of *s*, there is a chance for *ṣatva*.

अपि च इष्टा व्यवस्था न प्रकल्पते [1] । तद्यथा - तप्ते भ्राष्ट्रे तिलाः प्रक्षिप्ता मुहूर्तमपि नावतिष्ठन्ते, एवमिमे वर्णा मुहूर्तमपि नावतिष्ठेरन् ।

Besides the desired decision about the correctness of words cannot be arrived at. Just as the sesamum seed thrown on a frying-pan does not stand steadily in one place, so also these letters cannot stand steadily even for a moment.

अस्तु तर्हि प्रतिपादकम् - अन्येन निर्वृत्तानामनेन प्रतिपत्तिः

If so, let it be a *viśēṣapratipādaka sūtra* ; this decides correctly what is enjoined by another *sūtra*.

निर्वृत्तप्रतिपत्तौ निर्वृत्तिः

(Absence of) decision in the *svatantralakṣaṇa*.

निर्वृत्तप्रतिपत्तौ निर्वृत्तिः न सिध्यति, सर्वे सर्वत्र प्राप्नुवन्ति ।

The desired form cannot be arrived at on the strength of the *svatantralakṣaṇa*, since all *ādēśas* may replace all.

किं तदुच्यते; निर्वृत्तिर्न सिध्यतीति, न साधीयो निर्वृत्तिः सिद्धा भवति ?

What is meant by '*Nirvṛttiḥ na siddhyati*'? Do you mean that the final point is not well reached ?

न ब्रूमो निर्वृत्तिर्न सिध्यतीति

We do not say that *nirvṛtti* is not accomplished.

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

इष्टव्यवस्था न प्रकल्प्येत, न सर्वे सर्वत्र इष्यन्ते ।

The desired decision is not reached, since all cannot serve as *ādēśas* everywhere.

NOTE :—From the above discussion it is decided that the *sūtra* '*Sthānē antaratamaḥ*' is not a *nirvartaka*, but only a *pratipādaka*.

इदमिदानीं किमर्थं स्यात् ? What is this for here ?

1. प्रकल्प्येत is the reading in Benares edition.

अनर्थकं च It is of no use.

अनर्थकमेतत्स्यात् । यो हि भुक्तवन्तं ब्रूयान्मा भुक्था: इति किं तेन कृतं स्यात् ?

It is of no use. What does he accomplish, he who asks one not to eat after one has eaten?

उक्तम् वा It has been answered.

किमुक्तम् ? How has it been answered?

सिद्धं तु षष्ठ्यधिकारे वचनात् इति । षष्ठ्यधिकारेऽयं योगः कर्तव्यः स्थानेऽन्तरतमः षष्ठीनिर्दिष्ट य इति ।

The object is achieved if it is read where there is *adhikāra* for *ṣaṣṭhī*. This *sūtra 'Sthānē antaratamaḥ'* should be read where there is *adhikāra* for *ṣaṣṭhī*, so that the word *sthānē* may be qualified by the word *ṣaṣṭhīnirdiṣṭasya*.

VII

प्रत्यात्मवचनं च Also the word *pratyātmam*.

प्रत्यात्ममिति च वक्तव्यम्

The word *pratyātmam* also has to be read.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? Why?

यो यस्यान्तरतमः स तस्य स्थाने यथा स्यात्, अन्यस्य अन्तरतमोऽन्यस्य स्थाने मा भूद् इति ।

So that it alone which is *antaratama* to one will replace it and that which is *antaratama* to another may not replace it.

प्रत्यात्मवचनमशिष्यं स्वभावसिद्धत्वात्

No need to read *pratyātmam*, it being accomplished through natural causes.

प्रत्यात्मवचनमशिष्यम्

The word *pratyātmam* need not be read.

किं कारणम् ? Why?

स्वभावसिद्धत्वात् । स्वभावत एतत् सिद्धम् - तद्यथा समाजेषु समाशेषु समवायेषु चास्यताम् इत्युक्ते न चोच्यते प्रत्यात्ममिति, प्रत्यात्मं चासते ।

On account of its being accomplished through nature. It is accomplished through natural causes. For instance if one says 'Seat yourselves' with reference to a crowd on festive occasions or at dinner or at other gatherings, the expression '*in repective groups*' is not used and they seat themselves only in respective groups.

अन्तरतमवचनं च

The word *antaratama* also (need not be read.)

अन्तरतमवचनं चाशिष्यम्; योगश्चाप्ययमशिष्यः

The word *antaratama* need not be read; this *sūtra* too need not be read.

कुतः? Why?

स्वभावसिद्धत्वादेव । तद्यथा - समाजेषु समाशेषु समवायेषु चास्यताम् इत्युक्ते, नैव कृशाः कृशैः सहासते, न पाण्डवः पाण्डुभिः । येषामेव च किञ्चिदर्थकृतमान्तर्यं तैरेव सहासते । तथा गावो दिवसं चरितवत्यो यो यस्याः प्रसवो भवति, तेन सह शेरते । तथा यान्येतानि गोयुक्तकानि सङ्घुष्टकानि भवन्ति तान्यन्योन्यं [1] पश्यन्ति शब्दं कुर्वन्ति ।

On account of its being accomplished through nature. For instance if one says, 'Seat yourselves' with reference to a crowd on festive occasions or at dinner or at other gatherings the lean do not seat themselves with the lean nor the pale with the pale; but those alone who are closely related on some major issue seat themselves together. Similarly cows after grazing the whole day station themselves near their calves. So also pairs of oxen associated together as in ploughing look at one another and join themselves in making noise.

एवं तावच्चेतनावत्सु । अचेतनेष्वपि - तद्यथा लोष्टः क्षिप्तो [2] बाहुवेगं गत्वा नैव तिर्यग्गच्छति, नोर्ध्वमारोहति, पृथिवीविकारः पृथिवीमेव गच्छत्यान्तर्यतः । तथा या एता आन्तरिक्ष्यः सूक्ष्मा आपस्तासां विकारो धूमः, स आकाशदेशे निवाते नैव तिर्यग्गच्छति नार्वागवरोहति, अब्विकारो अप एव गच्छत्यान्तर्यतः । तथा ज्योतिषो

1. Bombay Edition reads अपश्यन्ति
2. बहुवेगम् is another reading.

विकारोऽर्चिराकाशदेशे निवाते सुप्रज्वलितो नैव तिर्यग्गच्छति नावागवरोहति, ज्योतिषो विकारो ज्योतिरेव गच्छत्यान्तर्यतः ।[1]

This is how it happens with animate objects. Among inanimate objects, a stone which is thrown traverses the distance in proportion to the force with which it is thrown and finally reaches the earth without going either *across* or *up*; the subtle particles of water in air, which we call smoke, finally reach water, they being the transformed water, without going either *across* or *down* in the place without air; similarly a ray of light, the *vikāra* of *jyōtis*, finally reaches light without going either *across* or *down*, though it shoots with brightness in the place without air.

VIII

व्यञ्जनस्वरव्यतिक्रमे च तत्कालप्रसङ्गः

Chance for the same quantity when consonants and vowels are replaced.

व्यञ्जनव्यतिक्रमे स्वरव्यतिक्रमे च तत्कालता प्राप्नोति ।

When consonants and vowels are replaced, there is chance for the *ādēśas* to have the same *mātrā* as those of *sthānins*.

व्यञ्जनव्यतिक्रमे - इष्टम् उप्तम्, आन्तर्यतोऽर्धमात्रिकस्य व्यञ्जनस्य अर्धमात्रिक इक् प्राप्नोति ।

When consonants are replaced, the *ik* which come in place of *y* of *yaj* in *iṣṭam* and in place of *v* of *vap* in *uptam* should have only half a *mātrā* in consonance with the half *mātrā* of the replaced consonants.

नैव लोके न च वेदे अर्धमात्रिक इगस्ति

There is no *ik* which has half a *mātrā* either in Classical Sanskrit or in Vēdic Sanskrit.

कस्तर्हि ? What then ?

मात्रिकः It has at least one *mātrā*.

1. *Mahābhāṣyakāra* has elaborated on *Vārttikakāra's* opinion that this *sūtra* is not necessary.

योऽस्ति स भविष्यति That which exists appears.

स्वरव्यतिक्रमे - दध्यत्र मध्वत्र कुमार्यर्थं ब्रह्मबन्ध्वर्थम् इति, आन्तर्यतो मात्रिकस्य द्विमात्रिकस्य इको मात्रिको द्विमात्रिको वा यण् प्राप्नोति ।

When vowels are replaced, the *yaṇ* which come in place of *ik* in *dadhyatra*, *madhvatra*, *kumāryartham* and *brahmabandhvartham* should have one or two *mātrās* in consonance with the one or two *mātrās* of the *ik*.

नैव लोके न च [1] वेदे मात्रिको द्विमात्रिको वा यणस्ति ।

There is no *yaṇ* which has either one *mātrā* or two either in Classical Sanskrit or in Vēdic Sanskrit.

कस्तर्हि? What then?

अर्धमात्रिकः It has only half a *mātrā*.

योऽस्ति स भविष्यति

That which exists makes its appearance.

अक्षु चानेकवर्णादेशेषु

In vowels which are *ādēśas* of many letters too.

अक्षु चानेकवर्णादेशेषु तत्कालता प्राप्नोति - 'इदम इश्' आन्तर्यतोऽर्धतृतीयमात्रिकस्य इदमः स्थाने अर्धतृतीयमात्रमिवर्णं प्राप्नोति ।

There is chance for the same quantity to exist in vowels which are the *ādēśas* of many letters. The *i* which is the *ādēśa* of *idam* enjoined in the *sūtra* '*Idama iś*' has a chance to get two and a half *mātrās* in consonance with the two and a half *mātrās* of *idam*. [2]

नैष दोषः, 'भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न' इत्येवं न भविष्यति ।

This difficulty does not arise; *i* does not get two and a half *mātrās* on the basis of the dictum 'A letter predicated in a rule cannot refer to those homogeneous with it'

गुणवृद्ध्येज्भावेषु च

In *guṇa*, *vṛddhi and ējbhāva also.*

1. Bombay Edition reads एव

2. *Kāiyaṭa* reads:—*Ardhatṛtīyamātram iti Atvāikādēśayōḥ kṛtayōḥ iśbhāva iti yadā prakriyā iti bhāvaḥ.*

गुणवृद्ध्येज्भावेषु च तत्कालता प्राप्नोति । खट्वा + इन्द्रः = खट्वेन्द्रः ; खट्वा + उदकम् = खट्वोदकम् ; खट्वा + ईषा = खट्वेषा ; खट्वा + ऊढा = खट्वोढा ; खट्वा + एलका = खट्वैलका ; खट्वा + ओदनः = खट्वौदनः ; खट्वा + ऐतिकायनः = खट्वैतिकायनः ; खट्वा + औपगवः = खट्वौपगवः इति । आन्तर्यतस्त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्राणां स्थानिनां त्रिमात्रचतुर्मात्रा आदेशाः प्राप्नुवन्ति ।

There is chance for the same quantity to arise in *guṇa, vṛddhi* and *ējbhāva*. In the following cases of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* there is chance for the *ādēśas* to have three or four *mātrās* in consonance with the *sthānins* having three or four *mātrās* :— *khaṭvā + indraḥ = khaṭvēndraḥ*; *khaṭvā+udakam=khaṭvōdakam*; *khaṭvā+īṣā = khaṭvēṣā*; *khaṭvā+ūḍhā = khaṭvōḍhā*; *khaṭvā+ēlakā =khaṭvāilakā*; *khaṭvā+ōdanaḥ = khaṭvāudanaḥ*; *khaṭvā+āitikāyanaḥ = khaṭvāitikāyanaḥ*; *khaṭvā+āupagavaḥ = khaṭvāupagavaḥ*.

नैष दोषः, तपरे गुणवृद्धी

This difficulty does not arise, since the *guṇa* and the *vṛddhi* letters are associated with *t*.

ननु च तः परो यस्मात्सोऽयं तपरः ?

Is not *tapara* split thus : *taḥ paraḥ yasmāt saḥ* ?

नेत्याह, तादपि परस्तपर इति

"No," says he ; it may be split as *tāt paraḥ* also.

यदि तादपि परस्तपरः, ऋदोरप् (3, 3, 57) इति इहैव स्यात् यवः स्तवः, लवः पवः इत्यत्र न स्यात् ।

If it is split as *tāt paraḥ* also, the *sūtra* *Ṛdōrap* will operate only with respect to *yava* and *stava* and not with respect to *lava* and *pava*.

नैष तकारः This is not *takāra*.

कस्तर्हि ? What then ?

दकारः *Dakāra*.

किं दकारे प्रयोजनम् ? What is the use of reading *dakāra ?*

अथ किं तकारे ? यद्यसन्देहार्थस्तकारः दकारोऽपि, अथ मुखसुखार्थस्तकारः, दकारोऽपि

What then is the use in reading *takāra* ? If *takāra* is to avoid doubt, *dakāra* also serves the same purpose; if it is for euphony, *dakāra* also is for the same.

एज्भावे - कुर्वाते कुर्वाथे - आन्तर्यतोऽर्धतृतीयमात्रस्य टिसंज्ञकस्यार्धतृतीयमात्र एः[1] प्राप्नोति ।

With reference to *ējbhāva*, *ē* which is two and a half *mātrās* may take the place of the *sthānin ṭi* (i.e. *ām* of *ātām* and *āthām*) which is two and a half *mātrās*, in *kurvātē*, *kurvāthē*[2].

NOTE ;—The *pratyāhāra ēc* suggests that the *sūtras Pūta-kratōrāi ca*, *Manōrāu vā* etc., should be taken into account here (*Kāiyaṭa*).

नैव लोके न च वेदेऽर्धतृतीयमात्र[3] एरस्ति

Neither in Classical Sanskrit nor in Vēdic Sanskrit is found *ē* which has two and a half *mātrās*.

IX

ऋवर्णस्य गुणवृद्धिप्रसङ्गे सर्वप्रसङ्गोऽविशेषात्

Chance for all when *ṛ* takes *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* due to the absence of *viśēṣa*.

ऋवर्णस्य गुणवृद्धिप्रसङ्गे सर्वप्रसङ्गः - सर्वगुणवृद्धिप्रसङ्गः - सर्वे गुणवृद्धि-संज्ञका ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने प्राप्नुवन्ति ।

When there is chance for *ṛ* to take *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*, there is chance for all (i.e.) there is chance for all *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* letters to replace it. All the *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* letters will have a chance to replace *ṛvarṇa*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अविशेषात् - न हि कश्चिद्विशेष उपादीयते एवंजातीयको गुणवृद्धिसंज्ञकः ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने भवति इति । अनुपादीयमाने विशेषे सर्वप्रसङ्गः ।

On account of the absence of *viśēṣa* or special characteristic. There is no mention of a specific nature that only such *guṇa*

1. Bombay Edition reads एच्.
2. The *sūtra* here referred to is *Ṭita ātmanēpadānām ṭēr-ē* (3, 4, 79.)
3. Bombay Edition reads एज्.

and *vṛddhi* letters as have a peculiar characteristic take the place of *ṛ*. In the absence of a specific mention, there is chance for all to take the place of *ṛ*.

न वा ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने रपरप्रसङ्गादवर्णस्यान्तर्यम्

No, there is closer affinity for *a* on account of *r* having the chance of replacing *ṛ*.

न वैष दोषः This difficulty does not arise.

किं कारणम्? How?

ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने रपरप्रसङ्गात् । उः स्थाने अण् प्रसज्यमान एव रपरो भवतीत्युच्यते । तत्र ऋवर्णस्य आन्तर्यतो रेफवतो रेफवानकार एवान्तरतमो भवति ।

On account of *r* taking the place of *ṛ*. It is said that the *aṇ* which has a chance to replace *ṛ* is followed by *r*. There, *a* followed by *r* has the closest affinity with *ṛ* which has *r* element in it.

सर्वादेशप्रसङ्गस्तु अनेकाल्त्वात्

Chance for the whole to be replaced by *ādēśa* on account of *anēkāltva*.

सर्वादेशस्तु गुणवृद्धिसंज्ञक ऋवर्णस्य प्राप्नोति

The *ādēśa* named *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* of *ṛvarṇa* has a chance of becoming *sarvādēśa*.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अनेकाल्त्वात् - अनेकाल् शित् सर्वस्येति

On account of its being *anēkāl* on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Anēkāl śit sarvasya.*'

न वानेकाल्त्वस्य तदाश्रयत्वाद् ऋवर्णादेशस्याविघातः

No, there is no harm in *ṛvarṇādēśa, aṇ* becoming *anēkāl* on account of its association with it.

न वैष दोषः This objection cannot stand.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अनेकाल्त्वस्य तदाश्रयत्वात् - यदायमुः स्थाने अण् तदायमनेकाल्, अनेकाल्त्वस्य तदाश्रयत्वाद् ऋवर्णादेशस्य विघातो न भविष्यति ।

On account of *anēkāltva* through its association with it. When it comes in place of *ṛ*, then alone does it become *anēkāl*. Since its *anēkāltva* depends upon *ṛvarṇa*, there is no difficulty with reference to the *ādēśa* of *ṛvarṇa*.

NOTE:—1. Since *aṇ* is, by nature, *ēkāl*, the *sūtra* '*Alōntyasya*' alone operates here.

NOTE:—2. The previous discussion is based upon the fact that *ar* and *ṛ* are *antaratama*, each having the *r* element in it. This cannot stand, if it is admitted that *a* alone replaces *ṛ* as the *guṇa* and *r* is afterwards appended to it. Hence *Vārttikakāra* takes another line of argument.

अनान्तर्यमेव वैतयोरान्तर्यम् [1]

Or non-having similar letters is their similarity.

अथवा अनान्तर्यमेवैतयोरान्तर्यम् - एकस्यान्तरतमा प्रकृतिर्नास्ति, अपरस्यान्तरतम आदेशो नास्ति, एतदेवैतयोरान्तर्यम् ।

Or non-having similar letters is their similarity; one *a* does not have a similar *sthānin* and the other *ṛ* does not have a similar *ādēśa* and this is their similarity.

NOTE:—This is not a convincing argument. Hence *Vārttikakāra* goes to the next one. This is the opinion of *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa*; but *Kāiyaṭa* says that he goes to it with reference to the *pratyākhyānapakṣa* of the *sūtra* '*Sthānē antaratamaḥ*.'

संप्रयोगो वा नष्टाश्वदग्धरथवत्

Close association like two men having one's carriage whose horse is dead associated with the horse of another whose carriage is burnt.

अथवा नष्टाश्वदग्धरथवत् सह सम्प्रयोगो भवति तद्यथा - तवाश्वो नष्टः ममापि रथो दग्धः, उभौ सम्प्रयुज्यावहै इति । एवमिहापि - तवाप्यन्तरतमा प्रकृतिर्नास्ति, ममाप्यन्तरतम आदेशो नास्ति, अस्तु नौ सम्प्रयोग इति ।

1. This is not found as the *vārttika* in the Bombay and Chowkhamba editions. *Bhattōji Dikṣita* too thinks that it is not a *vārttika* since he says in *Śabdakāustubha* under the next *sūtra* '*Bhāṣyakārāirimam pakṣam āśritya samāhitam anāntaryam ēvāitayōrāntanryam iti*.'

Or they are in close association like two men, one being *naṣṭāśva* and the other being *dagdharatha*. It is explained as follows :— Your horse is dead and my chariot too is burnt and let us make use of both we have and associate them. Similar is the case here :—You do not have a *sthānin* similar to you and I do not have an *ādēśa* similar to me and let us both be associated together.

विषम उपन्यासः । चेतनावत्सु अर्थात्प्रकरणाद्वा लोके सम्प्रयोगो भवति । वर्णाश्च पुनरचेतनाः । तत्र किंकृतः सम्प्रयोगः ?

The argument is not a sound one. There is close association in the world among animate beings through common purpose or necessity. But letters, on the other hand, are inanimate. How is it possible for them to have *samprayōga ?*

यद्यपि वर्णा अचेतनाः, यस्त्वसौ प्रयुङ्क्ते स चेतनावान्

Even though letters are inanimate, he who uses them is animate.

X

एजवर्णयोरादेशेऽवर्णं स्थानिनोऽवर्णप्रधानत्वात्

Avarṇa to be the *ādēśa* of *avarṇa* and *ēc* on account of *sthānin* having the *a* element to a large degree.

एजवर्णयोरादेशे अवर्णं प्राप्नोति, खट्वैलका मालौपगवः

Akāra will be the *ēkādēsa* of *avarṇa and ēc* in *khaṭvāilakā, mālāupagavaḥ*.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

स्थानिनोऽवर्णप्रधानत्वात्; स्थानी ह्यत्र अवर्णप्रधानः

Since the *sthānin* has the *a* element to a large degree ; for the *sthānin* here has *a* element to a large degree (the former being *avarṇa* and the latter having *a* element in them).

सिद्धं तूभयान्तर्यात्

It is decided through that which is similar to both.

सिद्धमेतत् It is settled.

कथम् ? How ?

उभयोर्योऽन्तरतमस्तेन भवितव्यम्; न चावर्णमुभयोरन्तरतमम् ।

It is only that which is *antaratama* to both should be the *ādēśa* and *avarṇa* is not *antaratama* to both.

उरण् रपरः (1, 1, 51)

Four topics are dealt with here :—(1) Is *aṇ* enjoined to *ṛvarṇa* and that too with *r* following it *or* is *r* enjoined to follow *aṇ* alone, where both *aṇ* and *anaṇ* are enjoined by another *sūtra* or is the *aṇ* which has a chance to replace *ṛ* to be followed by *r ?* (2) What is the need to read *aṇ* in the *sūtra?* (3) There is need for *ēkādēśōpasaṅkhyāna* and (4) Is *r pūrvānta, parādi* or *abhakta ?*

I

किमिदमुरण्रपरवचनमन्यनिवृत्त्यर्थम् 'उः स्थाने अणेव भवति रपरश्चेति' आहोस्विद् रपरत्वमात्रमनेन विधीयते 'उः स्थाने अण् च अनण् च, अण् तु रपरः' इति ।

Is this *sūtra* '*Uraṇ raparaḥ*' intended to prohibit another (i.e.) does it say that only *aṇ* replaces *ṛ* and that too, being followed by *r*, or is *raparatva* alone enjoined by this (i.e.) is *aṇ* enjoined to be *rapara*, both *aṇ* and *anaṇ* being enjoined by another *sūtra ?*

कश्चात्र विशेषः ? What is the difference here ?

उरण्रपरवचनमन्यनिवृत्त्यर्थं चेदुदात्तादिषु दोषः

If the *sūtra* '*Uraṇ raparaḥ*' is intended for *anyanivṛtti*, there is difficulty in *udāttādi*.

उरण्रपरवचनमन्यनिवृत्त्यर्थं चेदुदात्तादिषु दोषो भवति ।

If the *sūtra* '*Uraṇ raparaḥ*' is intended to prohibit another, there is difficulty in *udātta etc.*

के पुनरुदात्तादयः ? What then are *udāttādis ?*

उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानुनासिकाः, क्ळृतिः ह्ळृतिः, क्ळृतं ह्ळृतं, प्रक्ळृतं प्रह्ळृतम्, नॄँःपाहि ।

Udātta, anudātta, svarita and *anunāsika* ; *kṛtiḥ* and *hṛtiḥ have udātta ṛ* ; *kṛtam* and *hṛtam have anudātta ṛ* ; *prakṛtam* and *prahṛtam* have *svarita ṛ* and *nṝ* has *anunāsika.*

NOTE:—In *kṛti* and *hṛti* the first syllable *ṛ* is *udātta* by the *sūtra Ñnityādir nityam* (6, 1, 197); if *ṛ* is changed to *ar* by this *sūtra*, *ṛ* cannot be *udātta*. Similarly in *kṛtam* and *hṛtam*, *ta is udātta by the sūtra Ādyudāttaśca* (3, 1, 3) and consequently *ṛ* is *anudātta* by the *sūtra* '*Anudāttam padam ēkavarjam*' (6, 1, 158); if *ṛ* is changed to *ar*, *ṛ* cannot be *anudātta*. In *prakṛtam* and *prahṛtam*, *pra* is *udātta* by the *sūtra* '*Gatir anantaraḥ*' (6, 2, 49) and consequently *kṛ* and *hṛ* are *svarita* by the *sūtras* '*Anudāttam padam ēkavarjam*' (6, 1, 158) and '*Udāttād anudāttaḥ svaritaḥ*' (8, 4, 661). If *ṛ* is changed to *ar*, it cannot become *svarita*. In *nṝḥ pāhi*, *ṝ* has a chance of becoming *anunāsika* by the *sūtra* '*Atrānunāsikaḥ pūrvasya tu vā*' (8, 3, 2). If *ṛ* is changed to *ar*, *ṝ* cannot be *anunāsika*, though *ṛ* may be changed to *ṝ* by the *jñāpaka* of the *sūtra Nṝn pē* (8, 3, 20).

अस्तु तर्हि उः स्थाने अण् चानण् च; अण् तु रपर इति ।

If so, let another *sūtra* enjoin that *aṇ* and *anaṇ* replace *ṛ* and this *sūtra* enjoin that, among them, *aṇ* is followed by *r*.

य उः स्थानेऽण् स रपर इति चेद् गुणवृद्ध्योरवर्णाप्रतिपत्तिः

If it is said that the *aṇ* which replaces *ṛ* is followed by *r*, *avarṇa* cannot replace *ṛ* where it is said to take *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*.

य उः स्थाने अण् स रपर इति चेद् गुणवृद्ध्योः अवर्णस्याप्रतिपत्तिः, कर्ता, हर्ता, वार्षगण्यः

If it is said that the *aṇ* which is used in place of *ṛ* is followed by *r*, *avarṇa* cannot replace it wherever *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* are enjoined to it as in *kartā*, *hartā*, *vārṣagaṇyaḥ*.

NOTE:—*Ṛ of kṛ* and *hṛ* takes *guṇa* by the *sūtra* '*Sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayōḥ*' (7, 3, 84) and *ṛ* in *vṛṣagaṇa* takes *vṛddhi* by '*Acō ñṇiti*' (7, 2, 115).

किं हि साधयिः, ऋवर्णस्य असवर्णे यद्वर्णं स्यात् न पुनरेङैचौ ?

When *ṛvarṇa* has no *like* letter among *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* letters, is there any stronger reason for *avarṇa* to replace it in preference to *ēṅ* and *āic*?

पूर्वस्मिन्नपि पक्षे एष दोषः; किं हि साधीयस्तत्रापि ऋवर्णस्यासवर्णे यद्वर्णे स्यात्, न पुनरिवर्णोवर्णौ[1] ?

This defect exists even in the first *pakṣa*. Is there any stronger reason for *avarṇa* to replace it in preference to *ivarṇa* and *uvarṇa* ?

अथ मतमेतत् - उः स्थाने अणश्च अनणश्च प्रसङ्गे अणेव भवति रपरश्च इति, सिद्धा पूर्वस्मिन् पक्षे अवर्णस्य प्रतिपत्तिः ।

If this is the intention that, when there is a chance for *ṛ* to be replaced by *aṇ* and *anaṇ*, *aṇ* alone replaces it and that too with *r* following it, it is a decided fact that, in the first *pakṣa*, *a* alone replaces it.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that there is no chance for *ikāra* or *ukāra*, since they are neither *guṇa* nor *vṛddhi* letters.

यत्तु तदुक्तम् उदात्तादिषु दोषः इति, स इह दोषो जायते, न जायते ?

Does the difficulty '*udāttādiṣu dōṣaḥ*' mentioned before arise here or no ?

जायते स दोषः The difficulty does arise.

कथम् ? How ?

उदात्त इत्यनेन अणोऽपि प्रतिनिर्दिश्यन्ते अनणोऽपि

By *udātta* there is reference to both *aṇ* and *anaṇ*.

यद्यपि अणोऽपि प्रतिनिर्दिश्यन्ते, न तु प्राप्नुवन्ति

Though *aṇs* too are referred to, they do not actually take the place.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

स्थानेऽन्तरतमो भवति इति Any *ādēśa* is closely related to *sthānin*.

कुतो नु खल्वेतत्, द्वयोः परिभाषयोः सावकाशयोः समवस्थितयोः 'स्थानेऽन्तरतमः' इति 'उरण् रपरः' इति च, स्थानेऽन्तरतमः इत्यनया परिभाषया व्यवस्था भविष्यति, न पुनः उरण् रपर इति ?

1. Bombay Edition reads इकारोकारौ.

How is it that, when the two *paribhāṣās* '*Sthānē antaratamaḥ*' and '*Uraṇ raparaḥ*' have their application elsewhere, it is taken that the decision here is on the basis of '*Sthānē antaratamaḥ*' and not on the basis of '*Uraṇ raparaḥ*'?

अतः किम्? What if?

अत एष दोषो जायते 'उदात्तादिषु दोषः' इति

Hence arises the difficulty '*Udāttādiṣu dōṣaḥ.*'

ये चाप्येते ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने प्रतिपदमादेशा उच्यन्ते, तेषु रपरत्वं न प्राप्नोति - 'ऋत इद्धातोः,' 'उदोष्ठ्यपूर्वस्य' इति ।

Such of the *ādēśas* of *ṛvarṇa* as are actually mentioned in the *sūtras* '*Ṛta id dhātōḥ*' (7, 1, 100) and '*Ud ōṣṭhyapūrvasya*' (7, 1, 102) cannot be followed by *r*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa says 'Yatra hi aniyamaprasaṅgaḥ tatra anēna niyōgaḥ kriyatē, tatra tacchēṣabhūtam raparatvam bhavati, na tu anyatra pratipadavidhāu iti dōṣaḥ.*

सिद्धं तु प्रसङ्गे रपरत्वात्

The object is accomplished on account of *raparatva* when there is *prasaṅga*.

सिद्धमेतत् This (the desired object) is accomplished.

कथम्? How?

प्रसङ्गे रपरत्वात् - उः स्थाने अण् प्रसज्यमान एव रपरो भवति ।

On account of *raparatva* when there is *prasaṅga* :—*Aṇ* which has a chance to replace *ṛ* is followed by *r*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that there is *ēkavākyatā* between *vidhivākyas* and this *sūtra*.

किं वक्तव्यमेतत्? Is this to be stated?

न हि No, it need not be stated.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते?

How is it to be secured without its being mentioned?

स्थान इति वर्तते; स्थानशब्दश्च प्रसङ्गवाची

the word *sthānē* is taken here by *anuvṛtti* and the word *sthāna* means *prasaṅga*.

यद्येवमादेशोऽविशेषितो भवति

If so, *ādēśa* is devoid of restrictive adjunct.

आदेशश्च विशेषितः *Ādēśa* too has the restrictive adjunct.

कथम्? Where?

द्वितीयं स्थानग्रहणं प्रकृतमनुवर्तते । तत्रैवमभिसम्बन्धः करिष्यते - उः स्थाने अण् स्थान इति । उः प्रसङ्गे अण् प्रसज्यमान एव रपरो भवति ।

There is here *anuvṛtti* for the word *sthāna* mentioned the second time and the sentence is thus construed — '*Uḥ sthānē aṇ sthānē*', which means, 'the *aṇ* which has a chance to replace *ṛvarṇa* in its course of happening is followed by *r*.'

NOTE :—1. From this it is clear that there is *anuvṛtti* to the words *sthānē* found in both the *sūtras* '*Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōga* and '*Sthānēsntaratamaḥ*.'

NOTE :—2. By so doing, in *udāttādi*, there is no chance for *aṇ* since *ṛ* takes the place of *ṛ* by *āntaratamya* and in the places of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*, *avarṇa* (*a* or *ā*) is followed by ***r***.

II

अथ अणग्रहणं किमर्थं, न 'ऊ रपरः' इत्येवोच्येत?

What, then, is the need for the word *aṇ* in the *sūtra*? Why should it not be worded '*Ṝ raparaḥ*'?

ऊ रपरः इतीयत्युच्यमाने क इदानीं रपरः स्यात्?

If the *sūtra* is read as '*Ṝ raparaḥ*' alone, which, then, will be followed by *r*?

य उः[1] स्थाने भवति That which replaces *ṛvarṇa*.

कश्च उः स्थाने भवति? What replaces *ṛvarṇa*?

आदेशः *Ādēśa*.

आदेशो रपर इति चेद्रीरिविधिषु रपरप्रतिषेधः

Prohibition of *rapara* in the *vidhis* which enjoin *rīṅ* and *riṅ* if *ādēsa* is said to be (*rapara*).

आदेशो रपर इति चेद् रीरिविधिषु रपरत्वस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ।

1. उः is not found in the Bombay Edition.

If *ādēśa* is taken to be *rapara*, there is need for the prohibition (of *raparatva*) in the rules which enjoin that *ṛvarṇa* is changed to *rī* and *ri*.

NOTE :—1. The *sūtras* '*Rīṅ ṛtaḥ*' (7, 4, 27) and '*Riṅ śayagliṅṣu* (7, 4. 28) enjoin that short *ṛ* is changed to *rī* and *ri*.

NOTE :—2. The plural in *Rīrividhiṣu* suggests tha *rī* and *ri* are *upalakṣaṇa*.

के पुना रीरिविधयः ? What then are *rīrividhis?*

अकङ्लोपानङनङ्रीङ्रिङादेशाः

The *sūtras* which enjoin the *ādēśas—akaṅ, lōpa, ānaṅ, anaṅ, rīṅ and riṅ.*

अकङ् - सौधातकिः - अकङ्

The example for *akaṅ*, is *Sāudhātakiḥ*, (where *ṛ* of *Sudhātṛ* is replaced by *akaṅ* by the *sūtra* '*Sudhātur akaṅ ca*' (4, 1, 97).

लोप - पैतृष्वसेयः - लोप

The example for *lōpa* is *Pāitṛṣvasēyaḥ* (where *ṛ* of *pitṛṣvasṛ* is dropped by the *sūtra Ḍhaki lōpaḥ* (4, 1, 133.)

आनङ् - होतापोतारौ - आनङ्

The example for *ānaṅ* is *Hōtāpōtārāu* (where *ṛ* of *hōtṛ* is replaced by *ānaṅ* by the *sūtra Ānaṅ ṛtō dvandvē* (6, 3, 28.)

अनङ् - कर्ता, हर्ता - अनङ्

The examples for *anaṅ* are *kartā* and *hartā* (where *ṛ* of *tṛ* is replaced by *anaṅ* by the *sūtra* '*Ṛd - uśanas - purudaṁsōs-nēhasām ca* (7, 1, 94.)

रीङ् - मात्रीयति, पित्रीयति - रीङ्

The examples for *rīṅ* are *mātrīyati* and *pitrīyati* (where *ṛ* is replaced by *rī* on the strength of the *sūtra Rīṅ ṛtaḥ* (7, 4, 27.)

रिङ् - क्रियते, ह्रियते - रिङ्

The examples for *riṅ* are *kriyatē*, and *hriyatē* (where *ṛ* is replaced by *ri* on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Riṅ śayagliṅṣu*' (7, 4, 20.)

उदात्तादिषु च In *udāttādis* too.

उदात्तादिषु च In *udātta* etc. also.

किम्? What?

रपरत्वस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । कृतिः हृतिः, कृतम् हृतम्, प्रकृतम् प्रहृतम्, नॄः पाहि

Prohibition to *raparatva* has to be mentioned, in *kṛtiḥ*, *hṛtiḥ*, *kṛtam*, *hṛtam*, *prakṛtam*, *prahṛtam*, *nṝḥ pāhi*.

तस्मादण्ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

Hence the word *aṇ* should be read in the *sūtra*.

III

एकादेशस्योपसङ्ख्यानम्

The addition of *ēkādēśa*.

एकादेशस्योपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - खट्वर्श्यः, मालर्श्यः

The word *ēkādēśa* should be added in the *sūtra*, to secure the forms *khaṭvarśyaḥ*, *mālarśyaḥ*.

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति?

How is it that the object is not achieved (there)?

उः स्थाने अण् प्रसज्यमान एव रपरो भवतीत्युच्यते; न चायमुरेव स्थानेऽण् शिष्यते ।

It is said that the *aṇ* which has a chance to replace *ṛ* is followed by *r* when there is a chance for it; this *aṇ* is not enjoined in the place of *ṛ* alone.

किं तर्हि? In the place of what then?

उश्च अन्यस्य च In the place of *ṛ* and another.

[1] **अवयवग्रहणात्सिद्धम्**

The achievement through *avayavagrahaṇa*.

यदत्र ऋवर्णं तदाश्रयं रपरत्वं भविष्यति । तद्यथा माषा न भोक्तव्या इत्युक्ते मिश्रा अपि न भुज्यन्ते ।

Raparatva chances to come on the basis of *ṛvarṇa* found here. This may be illustrated thus:—If the eating of black gram is prohibited mixture also should not be eaten.

1. This is considered to be *Bhāṣya* text by some.

अवयवग्रहणात्सिद्धमिति चेदादेशे रान्तप्रतिषेधः

Prohibition of *rāntatva* in *ādēśa*, if the object is said to be achieved through *avayavagrahaṇa*.

अवयवग्रहणात्सिद्धमिति चेद् आदेशे रान्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - होतापोतारौ - यथैवोऽश्चान्यस्य च स्थाने अण् रपरो भवतीति, एवं य उः स्थाने अण् च अनण् च सोऽपि रपरः स्यात् ।

If it is said that the object is accomplished on account of *ṛ* being a part, there is need for the mention of prohibition of *rāntatva* in the *ādēśa*, as in the word *hōtāpōtārāu* (where *ṛ* is replaced by *ānaṅ*). Just as *aṇ* which replaces both *ṛ* and another becomes *rapara*, so also the *aṇ* in the *ādēśa* of *ṛ* which consists of both *aṇ* and *anaṇ* may become *rapara*.

यदि पुनः ऋवर्णान्तस्य स्थानिनो रपरत्वमुच्येत खट्वर्श्यः मालर्श्यः

Suppose that it is said that *raparatva* is possible in *khaṭvarśyaḥ* and *mālarśyaḥ* by taking the *sthānin* as *ṛvarṇānta*.

नैवं शक्यम् ; इह हि दोषः स्यात्[1], कर्ता हर्ता किरति गिरति ; ऋवर्णान्तस्य इत्युच्यते, न चैतदृवर्णान्तम् ।

It is not possible ; for difficulty will arise in the formation of *kartā*, *hartā*, *kirati*, *girati*, since the *ādēśa* here is not to *ṛvarṇānta* mentioned before.

ननु चैतदपि व्यपदेशिवद्भावेन ऋवर्णान्तम् ?

Can't we say that this is also *ṛvarṇānta* through *vyapadēśivadbhāva* ?

अर्थवता व्यपदेशिवद्भावः, न चैषोऽर्थवान् । तस्मान्नैवं शक्यम्

Vyapadēśivadbhāva is only with that which is *arthavat* and this is not *arthavat*. Hence it is not possible.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says '*Arthasya hi tyāgōpādānābhyām varṇarūpatā dhāturūpatā ca vyavasthāpyatē*.

न चेदेवम्, उपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम्

If it is not so, there is need for *upasaṅkhyāna*.

1. Bombay reading is इह न प्रसज्येत्.

इह च रपरत्वस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः, मातुः पितुः इति

Prohibition of *raparatva* has to be mentioned here too with reference to *mātuḥ, pituḥ* (in *ekādēśa*).

NOTE :—If *raparatva* is prohibited here, there will be no difficulty in the formation of *mātuḥ* and *pituḥ*. In *mātṛ + as*, *u* will replace *ṛ* and *a* by the *sūtra* '*Ṛta ut*' (6, 1, 111) and *s* will be changed to *visarga* by the *sūtras* '*Sasajuṣōruḥ*' '*Kharavasānayōr visarjanīyaḥ*.' If, on the other hand, *raparatva* is not prohibited, we will get the form *māturs* where *s* will be changed to *r* and the first *r* will be dropped by the *sūtra* '*Rōri*' (8, 3, 14) and the previous vowel *u* will be lengthened by the *sūtra* '*Ḍhralōpē pūrvasaya dīrghōṣṇaḥ* (6, 3, 111) and *r* will be replaced by *visarga*. The result will be that we get the forms *mātūḥ* and *pitūḥ*. But, even if *raparatva* is not prohibited, '*Rāt sasya*' (8, 2, 24) operates before the *sūtra* '*Sasajuṣō ruḥ*' (8, 2, 26) operates.

उभयं न वक्तव्यम्

Both (*ēkādēśōpasaṅkhyānam* and *raparatvapratiṣēdha* with reference to *mātuḥ, pituḥ*) need not be mentioned.

कथम् ? How to achieve the object?

यो द्वयोः षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टयोः प्रसङ्गे भवति, लभतेऽसौ अन्यतरतो व्यपदेशम् । तद्यथा - देवदत्तस्य पुत्रः, देवदत्तायाः पुत्रः इति ।

That which has a chance to appear, being related to two, gets its designation from either of the two, as in *Dēvadatta*'s son, and *Dēvadattā*'s son.

कथं मातुः पितुः इति ?

How to arrive at the forms *mātuḥ, pituḥ* ?

अस्त्वत्र रपरत्वम् Let there be *raparatva* here.

का रूपसिद्धिः ? How is the form arrived at?

'रात्सस्य' इति सकारलोपः, रेफस्य विसर्जनीयः

S (of *māturs*) is dropped by the *sūtra* '*Rāt sasya*' (8, 2, 24) and *r* is changed to *visarga*.

नैवं शक्यम्। इह हि मातुः करोति, पितुः करोति, इति अप्रत्ययविसर्जनीयस्य इति षत्वं प्रसज्येत [1] ।

This is not possible ; for in *mātuḥ + karōti* and *pituḥ + karōti*, the *visarga* will be replaced by *ṣ* by the *sūtra* '*Idudupadhasya cāpratyayasya*' (8, 3, 41), if we admit it.

अप्रत्ययविसर्जनीयस्य इत्युच्यते, प्रत्ययविसर्जनीयश्चायम्

Only *apratyayavisarjanīyasya* is mentioned in the *sūtra* and this *visarga* belongs to *pratyaya*.

लुप्यतेऽत्र प्रत्ययो रात्सस्य इति

The *pratyaya*, here, is dropped on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Rāt sasya*'.

एवं तर्हि - If so,

भ्रातुष्पुत्रग्रहणं ज्ञापकमेकादेशनिमित्तात् षत्वप्रतिषेधस्य

The mention of *bhrātuṣputra* is a *jñāpaka* for *ṣatvapratiṣēdha* on the basis of *ēkādēśa*.

यदयं कस्कादिषु भ्रातुष्पुत्रशब्दं पठति, तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो नैकादेशनिमित्तात् षत्वं भवति इति

Since *Ācārya* reads the word *bhrātuṣputra* in the *kaskādigaṇa*, he suggests that *ṣatva* does not set in on the basis of *ēkādēśa-śāstra*.

IV

किं पुनरयं पूर्वान्तः, आहोस्वित् परादिः, आहोस्विद् अभक्तः?

Is this (*r*) to be considered *pūrvānta*, *parādi* or *abhakta*?

कथं [2] चायं पूर्वान्तः स्यात्? कथं वा परादिः? कथं वा अभक्तः?

Under what circumstances is it considered *pūrvānta*? Under what circumstances is it *parādi*? Under what circumstances is it *abhakta*?

यद्यन्त इति वर्तते, ततः पूर्वान्तः; अथादिरिति वर्तते ततः परादिः; अथोभयं निवृत्तं, ततोऽभक्तः ।

1. Bombay reading is प्राप्नोति.
2. Bombay reading is वायम्

If it is taken as the final letter, it is *pūrvānta* ; if it is taken as the initial, it is *parādi* ; and if it is neither, it is *abhakta*.

कश्चात्र विशेषः ? What is the point to be noted here?

अभक्ते दीर्घलत्वयगभ्यस्तस्वरहलादिशेषविसर्जनीयप्रतिषेधः प्रत्ययाव्यवस्था च

If it is *abhakta*, non-accomplishment of *dīrghatva*, *latva*, *yaksvara*, *abhyastasvara*, *halādiśēṣa*, need for the mention of *visargapratiṣēdha* and absence of *vyavasthā* with reference to *pratyaya*.

यद्यभक्तः, दीर्घत्वं न प्राप्नोति गीः, पूः - 'रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोः' इति दीर्घत्वं न प्राप्नोति ।

If it is *abhakta*, lengthening of the vowel in *gīḥ* and *pūḥ* is not possible on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Rvōrupadhāyā dīrgha ikaḥ*' (8, 2, 76), which enjoins it to the penultimate of the roots ending in *r* and *v*.

NOTE :—*Gīḥ* is derived thus : *Gṝdhātōḥ kvip* ; *Ṝta id dhātōḥ itītvē raparatvam* ; *Rvōrupadhāyā dīrghaḥ iti dīrghaḥ*. *Pūḥ* is derived thus :— *Pṝdhātōḥ kvip* ; *Ud ōṣṭhyapūrvasya ityuttvam* ; *Rvōr upadhāyā dīrghaḥ iti dīrghaḥ*.

किं पुनः कारणं रेफवकाराभ्यां धातुर्विशेष्यते, न पुनः पदं विशेष्यते रेफवकारान्तस्य पदस्य इति ?

What, then, is the reason that *r* and *v* are taken as the *viśēṣaṇas* of *dhātu* and not of *pada*, so that *rvōḥ* may be taken to mean *rēphavakārāntasya padasya* ?

नैवं शक्यम्; इहापि प्रसज्येत अग्निर्वायुरिति ।

It is not possible ; otherwise the same may happen in *agniḥ* and *vāyuḥ*.

एवं तर्हि रेफवकाराभ्यां पदं विशेषयिष्यामः, धातुना इकं, रेफवकारान्तस्य पदस्य इको धातोः इति ।

If so, we shall take *r* and *v* as the *viśēṣaṇas* of *pada* and *dhātu* as the *viśēṣaṇa* of *ik*, so that it may mean *rēphavakārāntasya padasya ikō dhātōḥ*.

एवमपि, प्रियं ग्रामणि कुलमस्य प्रियग्रामणिः, प्रियसेनानिः, अत्रापि प्राप्नोति; तस्मात् धातुरेव विशेष्यते । धातौ च विशेष्यमाणे इह दीर्घत्वं न प्राप्नोति गीः पूः । दीर्घ ।

If so, the same will happen in the *bahuvrīhi* compounds *priyagrāmaṇiḥ - priyam grāmaṇi* (*kulam*) *asya - priyasēnāniḥ*; hence the *dhātu* alone should be *viśēṣya*. If the *dhātu* is *viśēṣya*, lengthening in *gīḥ, pūḥ* is not possible.

लत्व । लत्वं च न सिध्यति - निजेगिल्यते - 'ग्रो यङि' इति लत्वं न प्राप्नोति ।

Latva is not accomplished in *nijēgilyatē* by the *sūtra* '*Grō yaṅi*' (8, 2, 20).

नैष दोषः, ग्र इत्यनन्तरयोगैषा षष्ठी

This difficulty does not arise, since the sixth case in *graḥ* signifies *immediate proximity*.

एवमपि स्वर्जेगिल्यते इत्यत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If so, *latva* will appear in *svar-jēgilyatē*.

एवं तर्हि यङा आनन्तर्यं विशेषयिष्यामः । अथ वा ग्र इति पञ्चमी । लत्व ।

If so, *ānantarya* is taken to qualify *yaṅ*. Or *graḥ* is taken to be the fifth case.

यक्स्वर । यक्स्वरश्च न सिध्यति, गीर्यते स्वयमेव, पूर्यते स्वयमेव । अचः कर्तृयकि इत्येष स्वरो न प्राप्नोति, रेफेण व्यवहितत्वात् ।

The *svara* when *yak* is in the sense of *kartā* enjoined by the *sūtra* '*Acaḥ kartṛyaki*' (6, 1, 195) cannot be accomplished in the words *gīryatē* and *pūryatē*, since the vowel is intercepted from *yak* by *r*.

NOTE :—The *svara* is *ādirudāttatva*.

नैष दोषः, स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत् [1] इति नास्ति व्यवधानम् । यक्स्वर ।

This objection cannot stand, since there is no interception on the basis of the dictum that consonants are considered to be non-existent in *svaravidhi*.

1. Bombay Edition reads— अविद्यमानवद् भवति

अभ्यस्तस्वर - अभ्यस्तस्वरश्च न सिध्यति - मा हि स्म ते पिपरुः, मा हि स्म ते बिभरुः - 'अभ्यस्तानामादिरुदात्तो भवति अजादौ लसार्वधातुके' इत्येष स्वरो न प्राप्नोति, रेफेण व्यवहितत्वात् ।

The *abhyastasvara* in *piparuḥ* and *bibharuḥ* in '*mā hi sma tē piparuḥ*' and '*mā hi sma tē bibharuḥ*' is not accomplished on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Abhyastānām ādiḥ* (*udāttō bhavati ajādāu lasārvadhātukē*) (6, 1, 189), since there is the interception of *r*.

नैष दोषः, स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवत्[1] इति नास्ति व्यवधानम् । अभ्यस्तस्वर

This difficulty does not arise, since there is no interception on account of the dictum *Svaravidhāu vyañjanam avidyamānavat.*

हलादिशेष - हलादिशेषश्च न सिध्यति - ववृते ववृधे - अभ्यासस्येति हलादिःशेषो न प्राप्नोति । हलादिशेष ।

The *sūtra* '*Halādiḥ śēṣaḥ*' (7, 4, 60) cannot operate in the forms *vavṛtē*, *vavṛdhē* since (*r* does not form part of *abhyāsa*) and hence there is no chance for its being dropped.

विसर्जनीयप्रतिषेधः - विसर्जनीयस्य च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - नार्कुटः, नार्पत्यः 'खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः' इति विसर्जनीयः प्राप्नोति । विसर्जनीयप्रतिषेधः ।

There is chance for *r* in *nārkuṭaḥ*, *nārpatyaḥ* to be replaced by *visarga* on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Kharavasānayōr visarjanīyaḥ* and it should be prohibited.

NOTE :—1. *Nārkuṭaḥ* and *nārpatyaḥ* are derived from *nṛkuṭī* and *nṛpati* by the addition of *aṇ* and *ṇya*.

NOTE :—2. *Kāiyaṭa* says, '*Yasmāt suptiṅvidhiḥ tadādi subantam tiṅantañ ca iti rēphāntasya padatvād visarjanīyaprasaṅgaḥ*.

प्रत्ययाव्यवस्था च । प्रत्यये च व्यवस्था न प्रकल्पते - किरतः, गिरतः । रेफोऽप्यभक्तः, प्रत्ययोऽपि । तत्र व्यवस्था न प्रकल्पते ।

In the formation of the words *kirataḥ* and *girataḥ* there is difficulty in the use of the *pratyaya* (*śa*), when *r* is *abhakta* (i. e.)

1. Bombay Edition reads अविद्यमानवद् भवति.

śa is joined to the *dhātu* when *sārvadhātuka pratyaya* follows it ; since *r* is *abhakta*, *śa* cannot be taken to follow the root ; if, on the other hand, *r* is used after the *vikaraṇa*, it cannot be said to follow *aṇ* ; hence there is *avyavasthā*.

NOTE :—Of the *seven* objections raised against taking *r* as *abhakta*, the *first* one and the *last three* remain unanswered. Hence the *rēpha* cannot be considered *abhakta*.

एवं तर्हि पूर्वान्तः करिष्यते If so, it is considered *pūrvanta*.

पूर्वान्ते वेवधारणं विसर्जनीयप्रतिषेधो यक्स्वरश्च

It being *pūrvānta*, mention of *avadhāraṇa* of *ru* and *visarjanīyapratiṣēdha* and non-accomplishment of *yaksvarē*.

यदि पूर्वान्तः रोरवधारणं कर्तव्यम् - 'रोः सुपि' - रोरेव सुपि नान्यस्य रेफस्य - सर्पिष्षु, धनुष्षु । इह मा भूत् - गीर्षु, पूर्षु ।

If it is considered *pūrvānta*, there is need to mention in the interpretation of the *sūtra Rōḥ supi* (8, 3, 16) that the *visarjanīya* replaces *ru* alone and not other *rēphas*, so that the *sūtra* may operate in *sarpiṣṣu*, *dhanuṣṣu* and not in *gīrṣu*, *pūrṣu*.

परादावपि सत्यवधारणं कर्तव्यम् - चतुर्षु इत्येवमर्थम् । वेवधारणम् ।

Even if it is considered *parādi*, the *avadhāraṇa* has to be resorted to, so that the *sūtra* may operate in *caturṣu*.

विसर्जनीयप्रतिषेधः । विसर्जनीयस्य च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - नार्कुटः, नार्पत्यः - 'खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः' इति विसर्जनीयः प्राप्नोति ।

There is chance for *r* in *nārkuṭaḥ*, *nārpatyaḥ* to be replaced by *visarga* on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Kharavasānayōr visarjanīyaḥ*' and it should be prohibited.

परादावपि विसर्जनीयस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः नार्कल्पिरित्येवमर्थम् । कल्पिपद-सङ्घातभक्तोऽसौ नोत्सहते अवयवस्य पदान्ततां विहन्तुमिति कृत्वा [1] विसर्जनीयः प्राप्नोति । विसर्जनीयप्रतिषेधः ।

1. Bombay Edition omits कृत्वा

Prohibition of *visarga* is necessary even if it is considered as *parādi*, for the sake of forming the word *nārkalpiḥ*. *R* (which has come on account of *nṛ* taking *vṛddhi*) which forms a part of *kalpi* which is made up of the two *pratyayas kalpa* and *i*, cannot afford to give up its *padāntatva* which will enable it to be replaced by *visarga*.

यक्स्वरः । यक्स्वरश्च न सिध्यति - गीर्यते स्वयमेव, पूर्यते स्वयमेव - 'अचः कर्तृयकि' इत्येष स्वरो न प्राप्नोति ।

The *yaksvara* enjoined by the *sūtra* '*Acaḥ kartṛyaki*' cannot be accomplished in the words *gīryatē*, *pūryatā*.

नैष दोषः, उपदेश इति वर्तते । यक्स्वर ।

This objection cannot stand, since there is *anuvṛtti* for *upadēśa*.

अथवा पुनरस्तु परादिः Or let it be taken as *parādi*.

परादावकारलोपौत्वपुक्प्रतिषेधः, चङ्युपधाह्रस्वत्वमिटोऽव्यवस्था, अभ्यासलोपोऽभ्यस्ततादिस्वरो दीर्घत्वं च

It being *parādi*, prohibition of *ākāralōpa*, *āutva* and *puktva*, non-accomplishment of the shortening of *upadhā* when *caṅ* follows, *avyavasthā* with reference to *iṭ* and non-accomplishment of *abhyāsalōpa*, *abhyastasvara*, *tādisvara* and *dīrghatva*.

यदि परादिः, अकारलोपः प्रतिषेध्यः - कर्ता हर्ता - 'अतो लोप आर्द्धधातुके' इत्यकारलोपः प्राप्नोति ।

If it (*r*) is considered as the initial of what follows there is chance for the elision of *a* in *kartā*, *hartā* on the basis of the *sūtra* '*Atō lōpaḥ*' (6, 4, 48) and it is to be prohibited.

नैष दोषः, उपदेश इति वर्तते ।

This objection cannot stand, since there is *anuvṛtti* for *upadēśa*.

यद्युपदेश इति वर्तते - धिनुतः कृणुतः - अत्र लोपो न प्राप्नोति

If it is said that there is *anuvṛtti* for *upadēśa*, the elision of *a* in *dhinutaḥ* and *kṛṇutaḥ* cannot take place.

NOTE :—With reference to the roots *dhivi* and *kṛvi* belonging to the first conjugation, the stem becomes *dhinu*

and *kṛṇu* by the *sūtra* '*Dhinvikṛṇvyōraca*' (3, 1, 80) and *a* is dropped before *tas*, third person dual termination.

नोपदेशग्रहणेन प्रकृतिरभिसम्बध्यते

Upadēśa is not attached to *prakṛti.*

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

आर्द्धधातुकमभिसम्बध्यते - आर्द्धधातुकोपदेशे यदकारान्तमिति । अकारलोप

It is attached to *ārddhadhātuka*, so that it may mean that which is *akārānta* at the time when the *ārddhadhātuka* is enjoined.

औत्व - औत्वं च प्रतिषेध्यम् - चकार, जहार - 'आत औ णलः' इत्यौत्वं प्राप्नोति ।

Āutva too should be prohibited ; otherwise *āutva* will set in the forms *cakāra*, *jahāra* by the *sūtra* '*Ātu āu ṇalaḥ*' (7, 1. 34) (since *cakā* and *jahā* end in *ā* when *r* is taken as *parādi*) and *ra* will be replaced by *āu*).

नैष दोषः । 'निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति' इत्येवं न भविष्यति

This difficulty does not arise, since *ādēśas* replace only those that are mentioned (and *r* is not mentioned there).

यस्तर्हि निर्दिश्यते तस्य कस्मान्न भवति ?

What is the reason why it does not replace that which has been mentioned (i. e., *a*) ?

रेफेण व्यवहितत्वात् Since it is intercepted by *rēpha.*

पुक्प्रतिषेधः । पुक् च प्रतिषेध्यः - कारयति हारयति - आतां पुक् इति पुक् प्राप्नोति । पुक्प्रतिषेधः ।

Puk has to be prohibited, since, otherwise it will set in the forms *kārayati*, *hārayati* by the *sūtra* '*Arti - hrī - vlī - rī - knūyī - kṣmāyī - ātām puṅ ṇāu* (7, 3, 36).

चङ्युपधाह्रस्वत्वम् । चङ्युपधाह्रस्वत्वं च न सिध्यति - अचीकरत् अजीहरत् - 'णौ चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्वः' इति ह्रस्वत्वं न प्राप्नोति । चङ्युपधाह्रस्वत्वम् ।

The shortening of the penultimate in *acīkarat* and *ajīharat*, when *kṛ* and *hṛ* are followed by *caṅ* is not possible. The

shortening cannot take place on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Ṇāu caṅyupadhāyā hrasvaḥ* (7, 4, 1).

इटोऽव्यवस्था । इटश्च व्यवस्था न प्रकल्पते - आस्तरिता, निपरिता - इडपि परादिः, रेफोऽपि, तत्र व्यवस्था न प्रकल्पते । इटोऽव्यवस्था

It is not possible to decide about *iṭ*, which is found in *āstaritā*, *niparitā*; (for if *guṇa* and *raparatva* take place first, *iṭ* cannot make its appearance on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Nēḍ vaśi kṛti*' (7, 2, 8); if the *sūtra* '*Ārdhadhātukasya iḍ valādēḥ*,' however operates, *iṭ* should precede *rēpha*). *Iṭ* too is *parādi* and *rēpha* too and hence there is difficulty in deciding it.

अभ्यासलोपः । अभ्यासलोपश्च वक्तव्यः - ववृते ववृधे - 'अभ्यासस्य इति हलादिशेषो' न प्राप्नोति । अभ्यासलोपः ।

There is need to mention the elision (of *r*) in *abhyāsa* in *vavṛtē*, *vavṛdhē*, since the *sūtra Halādiḥ śēṣaḥ* (7, 4, 60) where there is *anuvṛtti* for the word *abhyāsasya* from 7, 4, 58 cannot accomplish it.

अभ्यस्तस्वरः । अभ्यस्तस्वरश्च न सिध्यति - मा हि स्म ते पिपरुः, मा हि स्त ते बिभरुः । अभ्यस्तानामादिरुदात्तो भवति अजादौ लसार्वधातुके' इत्येष स्वरो न प्राप्नोति । अभ्यस्तस्वर ।

The *ādirudāttatva* in the *abhyāsa* in *piparuḥ bibharuḥ* is not accomplished on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Abhyastānām ādiḥ* (6, 1, 189) since *lasārvadhātu* does not commence with a vowel.

तादिस्वरः । तादिस्वरश्च न सिध्यति - प्रकर्ता प्रकर्तुम् - 'तादौ च निति कृत्यतौ' इत्येष स्वरो न प्राप्नोति ।

Pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara which happens when the *kṛt* commences with *t* in *prakartā*, *prakartum* is not accomplished through the *sūtra* '*Tādāu ca niti kṛtyatāu*' (6, 2, 50).

नैष दोषः; उक्तमेतत् कृदुपदेशे वा ताद्यर्थमिडर्थम् इति । तादिस्वरः ।

This difficulty does not arise, since *Vārttikakāra* has read the *vārttika* '*Kṛdupadēśē vā tādyartham iḍartham*', under the *sūtra* 6, 2, 50 by which he means that it is sufficient if the *kṛt* is *tādi* when it is first read.

दीर्घत्वम् । दीर्घत्वं च न सिध्यति - गीः पूः - रेफवकारान्तस्य धातोरिति दीर्घत्वं न प्राप्नोति । दीर्घत्वम्

Lengthening of the vowel in *gīḥ* and *pūḥ* is not possible, since it is enjoined (to the penultimate) of the roots ending in *r* and *v*.

NOTE :—With reference to *abhaktatva* and *parāditva*, some of the objections raised remain unanswered. With reference to *pūrvāntatva*, *three* objections were raised of which the *last* was answered and the other two were said to be common to *pārāditvapakṣa* also. Hence *pūrvāntatvapakṣa* alone is considered to be the safest of the three.

अलोऽन्त्यस्य (1, 1, 52)

किमिदमल्ग्रहणम् अन्त्यविशेषणम्, आहोस्विद् आदेशविशेषणम्?

Is this *alaḥ viśēṣaṇa* to *antya* or to *ādēśa*?

NOTE :—Since the nominative plural and the genitive singular of *al* have the same form, this question has arisen.

किं चातः? What is the difference then?

यद्यन्त्यविशेषणम् आदेशोऽविशेषितो भवति

If it is the *viśēṣaṇa* to *antya*, *ādēśa* is left unrestricted.

तत्र को दोषः? What is the harm there?

अनेकाल्प्यादेशो अन्त्यस्य प्रसज्येत

Even *anēkāl* may have a chance to become the *ādēśa* of *antya*.

यदि पुनरलन्त्यस्य [1] इत्युच्यते तत्रायमप्यर्थः 'अनेकाल्शित् सर्वस्य' इत्येतन्न वक्तव्यं भवति । इदं नियमार्थं भविष्यति अलेवान्त्यस्य भवति नान्य इति ।

If *alaḥ* is taken to be the *viśēṣaṇa* of *ādēśa*, this purpose also is achieved that the *sūtra* '*Anēkāl śit sarvasya*' need not be read. This word *alaḥ* itself will have the restrictive force so that the *ādēśa* of *antya* will be *al* alone and not another.

एवमप्यन्त्यो अविशेषितो भवति

If so, the *antya* is left unrestricted.

1. The use of *al* as singular here shows that there is *vivakṣā* only for the stem and not for the plural case-suffix.

तत्र को दोषः ? What harm is there ?

वाक्यस्यापि पदस्याप्यन्त्यस्य प्रसज्येत

The *ādēśa* may chance to have reference to the *antya* of *vākya* or *pada* too.

यदि खल्वप्येषोऽभिप्रायस्तन्न क्रियेतेति, अन्त्यविशेषणेऽपि सति तन्न करिष्यते ।

If it is the opinion that it (the *sūtra Anēkāl śit sarvasya*) need not be read in that case, it need not be read even if *alaḥ* is taken to be the *viśeṣaṇa* of *antyasya*.

कथम् ? How is it possible ?

ङिच्च, अलोन्त्यस्य, इत्येतन्नियमार्थं भविष्यति - ङिदेव अनेकालन्त्यस्य भवति नान्य इति

The *sūtra Ṅicca* after this *sūtra* "*Alōntyasya* is taken to be a *niyamasūtra* meaning that the *anēkāl* which is *ṅit* alone becomes the *ādēśa* of *antya* and not others.

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते ? With what purpose, then, is this read ?

अलोन्त्यस्येति स्थाने विज्ञातस्यानुसंहारः

The *sūtra Alōntyasya* is an *anusaṁhāra* after the *ṣaṣṭhī* is known to be *sthānēyōgā*.

अलोन्त्यस्य इत्युच्यते, स्थाने विज्ञातस्यानुसंहारः क्रियते, स्थाने प्रसक्तस्येति ।

The *sūtra* '*Alōntyasya*' is read to serve as a supplementary *sūtra* after the *ṣaṣṭhī* is decided to be *sthānēyōgā*, so that *ādēśa* may replace the final *al*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says, *Yā ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgatvēna vijñātā sā antyam alam anusaṁhriyatē*; *ādeśō vā yō niścitaḥ sō antyasya alaḥ sthānē iti anusaṁhriyatē.*

इतरथा ह्यनिष्टप्रसङ्गः

For, otherwise there is chance for undesired operation.

इतरथा हि अनिष्टं प्रसज्येत, टित्किन्मितोऽपि अन्त्यस्य स्युः

For, otherwise there is chance for undesired operation; *ṭit kit* and *mit* too will operate upon the final *al*.

यदि पुनरयं योगशेषो विज्ञायेत ?

What if this is considered to be a part of the *sūtra* (*Ṣaṣṭhī, sthānēyōgā*) ?

योगशेषे च In *yōgaśēṣa* too.

योगशेषे च किम्?

What happens if it is considered to be *yōgaśēṣa?*

अनिष्टं प्रसज्येत टित्किन्मितोऽप्यन्त्यस्य स्युः

There is chance for an unwanted thing to happen. *Ṭit, kit* and *mit* too will operate upon the final *al.*

तस्मात् सुष्ठूच्यते 'अलोऽन्त्यस्येति स्थाने विज्ञातस्यानुसंहारः इतरथा ह्यनिष्टप्रसङ्गः' इति

Hence the *Vārttika* '*Alōntyasya iti sthānē vijñātasya anusaṁhāraḥ itarathā hi aniṣṭaprasaṅgaḥ*' is well said.

ङिच्च (1, 1, 53)

तातङ् अन्त्यस्य स्थाने कस्मान्न भवति, ङिच्च, अलोन्त्यस्य इति प्राप्नोति?

How is it that the *pratyaya tātaṅ* does not replace the *antya* by the *sūtra* '*Ṅicca* which follows '*Alōntyasya*'?

तातङि ङित्करणस्य सावकशत्वाद्विप्रतिषेधात्सर्वादेशः

Ṅitkaraṇa in *tātaṅ* being made use of elsewhere, there is *sarvādēśa* by *vipratiṣēdha.*

तातङि ङित्करणं सावकाशम्

The mention of *ṅ* as *it* in *tātaṅ* is of use elsewhere.

कोऽवकाशः? Where is it made use of?

गुणवृद्धिप्रतिषेधार्थो ङकारः

Ṅakāra is intended to prevent the occurrence of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi.*

तातङि ङित्करणस्य सावकाशत्वाद् विप्रतिषेधात् सर्वादेशो भविष्यति

Since the mention of *ṅit* in *tātaṅ* is of use elsewhere, there is *sarvādēśa* through the dictum '*Vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam*'.

प्रयोजनं नाम तद् वक्तव्यं यन्नियोगतः स्यात्। यदि चायं नियोगतः सर्वादेशः स्यात् तत एतत्प्रयोजनं स्यात्। कुतो नु खल्वेतत् - ङित्करणादयं सर्वादेशो भविष्यति, न पुनरन्त्यस्य स्यादिति?

It alone deserves to be called *prayōjana*, which results from an injunction. If the *sarvādēśa* is secured through an injunction (other than this), this (*guṇavṛddhipratiṣēdha*) may be called the

prayōjana. How is it to be understood that, through *ṅitkaraṇa, sarvādēśa* takes place and not *antyādēśa ?*

एवं तर्हि एतदेव ज्ञापयति, न तातङ् अन्त्यस्य स्थाने भवतीति यदेतं ङितं करोति; इतरथा हि लोट एरुप्रकरण एव ब्रूयात् 'तिह्योस्तादाशिष्यन्यतरस्याम्' इति
If so, it is evidently this - the *Sūtrakāra's* reading *tātaṅ* (instead of *tāt*) suggests that *tāt* does not replace the final letter alone; otherwise he would have read '*Tihyōs tād āśiṣyanyatarasyām*' by the side of '*Ēruḥ*' (3, 4, 86) where there is *anuvṛtti* for *lōṭaḥ* from the previous *sūtra* in the third chapter instead of '*Tuhyōs tātaṅṅāśiṣyanyatarasyām*. (7, 1, 35) which he has read in the seventh chapter.

आदेः परस्य (1, 1, 54)

अलोन्त्यस्यादेः परस्यानेकाल्शित्सर्वस्येत्यपवादविप्रतिषेधात्सर्वादेशः

Sarvādēśa through *vipratiṣēdha* when '*Ādēḥ parasya*' and '*Anēkālśit sarvasya*' the *apavādas* of '*Alōntyasya*' both operate.

अलोन्त्यस्य इत्युत्सर्गः
The *sūtra* '*Alōntyasya*' is the general rule.

तस्य 'आदेः परस्य' 'अनेकाल् शित्सर्वस्य' इत्यपवादौ
The *sūtras* '*Ādēḥ parasya*', and '*Anēkāl śit sarvasya*' are exceptions to it.

अपवादविप्रतिषेधात्तु सर्वादेशो भविष्यति
Since the *apavādas* are contradictory to each other, *sarvādēśa* sets in (through the dictum *Vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam*).

'आदेः परस्य' इत्यस्य अवकाशः 'द्व्यन्तरुपसर्गेभ्योऽप ईत्' - द्वीपम् अन्तरीपम्
The room for the *paribhāṣā* '*Ādēḥ parasya*' to operate is the *sūtra* '*Dvyantarupasargēbhyōs pa īt* (6, 3, 97), by which the words *dvīpam* and *antarīpam* are formed.

'अनेकाल् शित्सर्वस्य' इत्यस्य अवकाशः अस्तेर्भूः - भविता, भवितुम्
The room for the *paribhāṣā* '*Anēkāl śit sarvasya*' to operate is the *sūtra* '*Astēr bhūḥ*' (2, 4, 52), by which the forms *bhavitā* and *bhavitum* are formed.

इह उभयं प्राप्नोति - 'अतो भिस ऐस्'; अनेकाल् सर्वस्य इत्येतद्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन

Hence, in the *sūtra Atō bhisa āis* ' (7, 1, 9) both can operate; but the *anēkāl* becomes the *ādēśa* of the whole through *vipratiṣēdha*.

शित् सर्वस्य इत्यस्यावकाशः 'इदम इश्' — इतः, इह; आदेः परस्य इत्यस्यावकाशः स एव

The room for '*Śit sarvasya*' to operate is the *sūtra* '*Idama iś*' by which the words *itaḥ* and *iha* are formed. The room for '*Ādēḥ parasya*' to operate is the same.

इहोभयं प्राप्नोति - 'अष्टाभ्य औश्'; शित्सर्वस्य इत्येतद्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ।

Here, in the *sūtra* '*Aṣṭābhya āuś* (7, 1, 21) both can operate; '*Śit sarvasya*' operates through *vipratiṣēdha*.

अनेकाल् शित्सर्वस्य (1, 1, 55)

शित्सर्वस्येति किमुदाहरणम्?

What serves as the example for '*Śit sarvasya*'?

'इदम इश्' - इतः इह

The *sūtra* '*Idama iś*' from which the words *itaḥ* and *iha* are formed.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम्, शित्करणादेवात्र सर्वादेशो भविष्यति ।

This is not the *prayōjana*, since *sarvādēśa* sets in (on account of *anēkāltva*) which exists on account of *śitkaraṇa*.

इदं तर्हि अष्टाभ्य औश्

This, then, the *sūtra* '*Aṣṭābhya āuś*' serves as the example.

NOTE:—The difference between the former and the latter is that *idamaḥ* is *ṣaṣṭhī and aṣṭābhyaḥ* is *pañcamī*.

ननु चात्रापि शित्करणादेव सर्वादेशो भविष्यति

Oh, even here *sarvādēśa* sets in through *śitkaraṇa*.

इदं तर्हि जसः शी, जश्शसोः शिः

These, then, '*Jasaḥ śī*', '*Jaśśasōḥ śiḥ* serve as examples.

ननु चात्रापि शित्करणादेव सर्वादेशो भविष्यति

Oh, even here *sarvādēśa* may happen through *śitkaraṇa.*

अस्त्यन्यच्छित्करणे प्रयोजनम्?

There is another *prayōjana* in *śitkaraṇa.*

किम्? What is it?

विशेषणार्थेनार्थः शकारः *Śakāra* is for the sake of *viśēṣaṇa.*

क्व विशेषणार्थेनार्थः?

Where has it the *prayōjana* of *viśēṣaṇārthatva*?

'शि सर्वनामस्थानं,' 'विभाषा ङिश्योः' इति

The *sūtras* '*Śi sarvanāmasthānam*' (1, 1, 42) '*Vibhāṣā ṅiśyōḥ*' (6, 4, 136).

शित्सर्वस्येति शक्यमकर्तुम्

It is possible to manage without *śit sarvasya* in the *sūtra.*

कथम्? How?

अन्त्यस्यायं स्थाने भवन्न प्रत्ययः स्यात्। असत्यां प्रत्ययसंज्ञायामित्संज्ञा न स्यात्। असत्यामित्संज्ञायां लोपो न स्यात्। असति लोपे अनेकाल्। यदा अनेकाल् तदा सर्वादेशः। यदा सर्वादेशः तदा प्रत्ययः। यदा प्रत्ययः तदेत्संज्ञा। यदेत्संज्ञा तदा लोपः।

When it comes as *ādēśa* replacing the final letter, it cannot get the designation *pratyaya.* In the absence of *pratyayasaṁjñā*, there will be no chance for the designation *it.* In its absence, there is no elision. In the absence of elision it is *anēkāl.* When it is *anēkāl*, there is *sarvādēśa*; when it is *sarvādēśa*, it gets the designation *pratyaya.* When it is *pratyaya*, it gets the designation *it.* When it gets *itsaṁjñā*, there is elision.

एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यच्छित्सर्वस्य इत्याह, तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः अस्त्येषा परिभाषा 'नानुबन्धकृतमनेकाल्त्वं भवति' इति

Since *Ācārya* has read '*Śit sarvasya*' even though it is possible to manage without it, he suggests the existence of the *paribhāṣā* that *anubandha* (*it*) is not a factor to decide the *anēkāltva.*

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the benefit derived from this suggestion?

तत्र असरूपसर्वादेशदाप्प्रतिषेधेषु पृथग् निर्देशो अनाकारान्तत्वाद् इत्युक्तं, तन्न वक्तव्यं भवति ।

The *vārttika* '*Asarūpa - sarvādēśa - dāp-pratiṣēdhēṣu pṛthag nirdēśō anākārāntatvāt*' is read there (under the *sūtra* '*Tasya lōpaḥ*' (1, 3, 9) and it need not be read.

NOTE:—The *bhāṣya* under the *vārttika* is thus:—*Tatra asarūpavidhaū dōṣō bhavati—'Karmaṇyaṇ' 'Ātōsnupasargē kaḥ' iti; kaviṣayē aṇapi prāpnōti. Sarvādēśē ca dōṣō bhavati - 'Diva āut'; āut sarvādēśaḥ prāpnōti. Dāppratiṣēdhē pṛthaktvanirdēśaḥ kartavyaḥ—'Adābdāipāu' iti vaktavyam. Kiṁ punaḥ kāraṇam na siddhyati? Anākārāntatvāt.*

SEVE

Eighth Āhnika

स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ (1, 1, 56)

Firstly *Mahābhāṣyakāra* deals with *three* topics :—1. The need for *vat* 2. The non-need of *ādēśaḥ* and 3. The need for the word *vidhi* in *analvidhāu*. Then *Vārttikakāra* first proves that this *sūtra* is unnecessary. This may have been the view of *Mahābhāṣyakāra*. This may be taken as the *fourth* topic. He then argues the necessity of the word *analvidhāu* in the *sūtra* and then points out *thirteen dōṣas* in the *sūtra*. These two may be taken as the *fifth* and *sixth* topics. *Mahābhāṣyakāra* has, in the last topic, almost met with all the defects pointed out by *Vārttikakāra*.

I

वत्करणं किमर्थम् ?

Why should *vat* be read (in *sthānivat*) ?

'स्थान्यादेशोऽनल्विधौ' इति इयत्युच्यमाने, संज्ञाधिकारोऽयं, तत्र स्थानी आदेशस्य संज्ञा स्यात् ।

If the *sūtra* is read without *vat* as '*Sthānyādēśōऽnalvidhāu,*' it will mean that *sthānin* is the *saṁjñā* of *ādēśa*, since this section deals with *saṁjñā*.

तत्र को दोषः ? What is the harm then ?

'आङो यमहनः' आत्मनेपदं भवतीति वधेरेव स्यात् हन्तेर्न स्यात् । वत्करणे पुनः क्रियमाणे न दोषो भवति, स्थानिकार्यमादेशे अतिदिश्यते गुरुवद् गुरुपुत्रे इति यथा ।

From the *sūtra* '*Āṅō yamahanaḥ*' 1, 3, 28), *ātmanēpada* terminations will be used only after *vadh* with *ā* and not after *han* with *ā*. If *vat* is read, that defect cannot arise, since *ādēśakārya* can be analogized with the *sthānikārya*, in the same way as the homage to teacher's son is analogized with that to the teacher.

II

अथ आदेशग्रहणं किमर्थम्? What for is the mention of *ādēśa?*

स्थानिवदनल्विधौ इति इयत्युच्यमाने क इदानीं स्थानिवत् स्यात् ?

If the *sūtra* is read '*Sthānivad analvidhāu*' without *ādēśa*, which will act like *sthānin* ?

यः स्थाने भवति ? (That) which replaces it.

कश्च स्थाने भवति ? Which replaces it ?

आदेशः *Ādēśa.*

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - आदेशमात्रं स्थानिवद्यथा स्यात् । एकदेशविकृतस्योपसङ्ख्यानं चोदयिष्यति ; तन्न वक्तव्यं भवति ।

This, then, will be the *prayōjana* that all *ādēśa's* (*pratyakṣa* and *anumita*) will act like *sthānins* and consequently the statement *Ēkadēśavikṛtasya upasaṅkhyānam* which will shortly be read under this *sūtra* is unnecessary.

III

अथ विधिग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What for is the mention of *vidhi* (in *analvidhāu*) ?

सर्वविभक्त्यन्तः समासो यथा विज्ञायेत - अलः परस्य विधिः अल्विधिः, अलो विधिः, अल्विधिः, अलि विधिः अल्विधिः, अला विधिः अल्विधिः इति ।

So that it may be understood that the former member of the compound *alvidhi* may stand in all case-relations with the latter as fifth case, sixth case, seventh case and third case.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । प्रातिपदिकनिर्देशोऽयम् । प्रातिपदिकनिर्देशाश्चार्थतन्त्रा भवन्ति, न काञ्चित् प्राधान्येन विभक्तिमाश्रयन्ति । तत्र प्रातिपदिकार्थे निर्दिष्टे यां यां विभक्तिमाश्रयितुं बुद्धिरुपजायते सा सा आश्रयितव्या ।

This is not the *prayōjana*. There is only mention of the stem here. The case-suffix after it is dependent upon the meaning and hence the stem does not take any particular case-suffix after it. When its meaning is mentioned, such case-suffixes as suit it are used.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - उत्तरपदलोपो यथा विज्ञायेत - अलम् आश्रयते अलाश्रयः, अलाश्रयो विधिः अल्विधिः इति । यत्र प्राधान्येन अल् आश्रीयते, तत्रैव प्रतिषेधः स्यात्, यत्र विशेषणत्वेन अल् आश्रीयते, तत्र प्रतिषेधो न स्यात्

This, then, is the *prayōjana*, that it is to be taken as *uttara-padalōpisamāsa* thus :—*alaṁ āśrayatē* = *alāśrayaḥ* ; *alāśrayō vidhiḥ* = *alvidhiḥ*. Where *alāśraya* is *pradhāna*, prohibition sets in and where it is dependent, prohibition does not set in.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? What is the benefit ?

प्रदीव्य, प्रसीव्य इति, वलादिलक्षण इण्मा भूद् इति

The *iṭ* whose appearance is dependent on the following *val* has not appeared in *pradīvya*, *prasīvya*.

Note :—Though *ya* in *pradīvya* and *prasīvya* is the *ādēśa* of *ktvā*, it does not take the *āgama iṭ* on the strength of the *sūtra Ārddhadhātukasya iḍ valādēḥ* (7, 2, 35) through *sthānivad-bhāva*, since the *al* is not *pradhāna* here.

IV

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते ? What is the need for this *sūtra* ?

स्थान्यादेशपृथक्त्वादादेशे स्थानिवदनुदेशो गुरुवद् गुरुपुत्र इति यथा [1]

Analogization of *ādēśa* with *sthānin* like that of *guruputra* with *guru*, since they are different.

अन्यः स्थानी अन्य आदेशः स्थान्यादेशपृथक्त्वात्, एतस्मात् कारणात् स्थानिकार्यमादेशे न प्राप्नोति ।

Sthānin is one and *ādēśa* is another and since they are different, that which happens to *sthānin* does not happen to *ādēśa*.

तत्र को दोषः ? What is the harm there ?

आङो यमहन आत्मनेपदं भवति इति हन्तेरेव स्याद् वधेर्न स्यात् । इष्यते च वधेरपि स्यादिति । तच्चान्तरेण यत्नं न सिद्ध्यतीति तस्मात् स्थानिवदनुदेशः । एवमर्थ-मिदमुच्यते । गुरुवद् गुरुपुत्र इति यथा - तद्यथा - गुरुवदस्मिन् [2] गुरुपुत्रे वर्तितव्यम् इति गुरौ यत्कार्यं तद् गुरुपुत्रे अतिदिश्यते । एवमिहापि स्थानिकार्यमादेशे अतिदिश्यते ।

From the *sūtra* '*Āṅō yamahanaḥ*' *ātmanēpada* terminations will be attached only to the root *han* and not to *vadh* (its *ādēśa*);

1. This is not a *vārttika* in Chaukamba Edition.

2. Bombay Edition omits अस्मिन्.

but they are needed after *vadh* also. Since it is not accomplished without effort, there is analogization. This *sūtra* is for this. The explanation of *guruvad guruputrē* is this:—On account of the statement that one should behave towards *guruputra* in the same way as towards *guru*, that which is to be done to *guru* is transferred towards *guruputra*. So also *sthānikārya* is transferred towards *ādēśa*.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् No, this is not the desired benefit.

लोकतः[1] From the world.

लोकत एतत् सिद्धम् । तद्यथा - लोके यो यस्य प्रसङ्गे भवति, लभतेऽसौ तत्कार्याणि । तद्यथा - उपाध्यायस्य शिष्यो याज्यकुलानि गत्वा अग्रासनादीनि लभते ।

This is accomplished from what is found in the world. He who comes in place of another takes to his work. This may be illustrated thus:—The pupil who goes to the house of a sacrificer in place of his teacher is given the front seat etc.

यद्यपि तावल्लोक एष दृष्टान्तः, दृष्टान्तस्यापि तु पुरुषारम्भो निवर्तको भवति

Even though this is a settled fact in the world, it is set at naught by another's efforts.

अस्ति चेह[2] कश्चित् पुरुषारम्भः? Is there then any effort here?

अस्तीत्याह 'Yes there is,' says he.

कः? What?

स्वरूपविधिर्नाम । हन्तेरात्मनेपदमुच्यमानं हन्तेरेव स्याद् वधेर्न स्यात् ।

The *sūtra* '*Svam rūpam śabdasyāśabdasaṁjñā*.' The *ātmanēpada* termination enjoined to be attached to the root *han* will be attached only to the root *han* and not to *vadh*.

एवं तर्हि आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति स्थानिवदादेशो भवतीति, यदयं 'युष्मदस्मदोरनादेशे' इत्यादेशप्रतिषेधं शास्ति ।

If so, *Ācārya Pāṇini* suggests that *ādēśa* becomes *sthānivat*, since he has used the word *anādēśē* in the *sūtra* '*Yuṣmad-*

1. This is not a *vārttika* in Chowkhamba edition.

2. Bombay Edition reads वा.

asmadōr anādēśē' prohibiting the lengthening of *a* of *yuva* and *āva* before *halādivibhakti* which is *anādēśa*.

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

Under what construction does it become *jñāpaka* ?

युष्मदस्मदोर्विभक्तौ कार्यमुच्यमानं कः प्रसङ्गो यदादेशेऽपि स्यात् । पश्यति त्वाचार्यः 'स्थानिवद् आदेशो भवति इति । अत आदेशे प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ।

What happens to *yuṣmad* and *asmad* when case-suffix follows them may not happen to them when an *ādēśa* to the case-suffix follows. *Ācārya* prohibits it when *ādēśa* follows them seeing that *ādēśa* may play the same part as *sthānin*.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - अनल्विधाविति प्रतिषेधं वक्ष्यामि इति - इह मा भूत् द्यौः, पन्थाः, स इति

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that he is to prohibit it in *alvidhi* so that the nominative singular suffix may not be dropped in the words *dyāḥ*, *panthāḥ* and *saḥ*.

NOTE :—*V* of *div* is changed to *āu* before *su* by the *sūtra* '*Diva āut*' (7, 1, 84) '*Su*' is not dropped by the *sūtra*, '*Halṅyābhyō dīrghāt sutisyapṛktam hal* (6, 1, 68) by taking recourse to *sthānivadbhāva*. Similarly *pathin* is changed to *panthā* before *su* by the *sūtras Pathimathyṛbhukṣām āt* (7, 1, 85) and *Thō nthaḥ* (7, 1, 87) and *tad* is changed to *sa* by the *sūtras Tyadādīnām aḥ* and *Tadōḥ saḥ sāvanantyayōḥ* (7, 2, 106) before *su*.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति 'अल्विधौ स्थानिवद्भावो न भवति' इति, यदयम् 'अदो जग्धिर्ल्यप्ति किति' इति 'ति किति' इत्येव सिद्धे ल्यब्ग्रहणं करोति ।

This too is not the *prayōjana*, since *Ācārya* reads *lyap* in the *sūtra Adō jagdhir lyap ti kiti* (2, 4, 36), though the purpose is served by '*Ti kiti*' and hence suggests that there is no chance for *sthānivadbhāva* in *alvidhi*.

तस्मान्नार्थोऽनेन योगेन

Hence no useful purpose is served by this *sūtra*.

NOTE :—If '*Sthānyādēśaprthaktvād ādēśē sthānivad anudēśō guruvad guruputra iti yathā*' and '*Lōkataḥ*' are *vārttikas*, it should be construed that *Vārttikakāra* proves from *laukika-nyāya* that this *sūtra* is unneccessary and *Mahābhāṣyakāra*, finding it weak, proves the same from *Ācārya's jñāpaka.* If they are not *vārttikas*, it should be construed that *Mahābhāṣya-kāra* himself first propounds the argument *lōkataḥ* and finding it weak proceeds further. Reference to *lāukikanyāya* is made both by *Vārttikakāra* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra* elsewhere. The former says *lōkataḥ* in the first *vārttika* and the latter under '*Viṣayēṇa tu nānāliṅgakaraṇāt siddham*' in the *sūtra* '*Aiuṇ*.' Since the following *vārttikas* prove the necessity of *analvidhāu* and suggest additions and omissions feeling that the *sūtra* is defective, it may be taken that it is *Mahābhāṣyakāra* that suggests that this *sūtra* is unnecessary.

V

आरभ्यमाणेऽप्येतस्मिन् योगे If this *sūtra* is read,

अल्विधौ प्रतिषेधेऽविशेषणेऽप्राप्तिस्तस्यादर्शनात्

Even in (the absence of) *pratiṣēdha* in *alvidhi*, non-operation of the *sūtra* in the absence of *viśeṣaṇa* thro' its disappearance.

अल्विधौ प्रतिषेधे असत्यपि, विशेषणे समाश्रीयमाणे, असति तस्मिन् विशेषणे अप्राप्तिर्विधेः - प्रदीव्य प्रसीव्य

The *sūtra* does not operate, if the *viśēṣaṇa* that is resorted to makes its disappearance even though there is no mention of the *pratiṣēdha* with reference to *alvidhi* in the *sūtra*. (Hence there is no *iṭ* in the forms) *pradīvya, prasīvya.*

किं कारणम्? How?

तस्य अदर्शनात् - वलादेरित्युच्यते, न चात्र वलादिं पश्यामः

On account of its disappearance. '*Valādēḥ*' is mentioned as *viśēṣaṇa* (in the *sūtra* '*Ārddhadhātukasya iḍ valādēḥ*') and we do not see *valādi* here (in *pradīvya, prasīvya*).

NOTE :—The *āgama iṭ* is enjoined to the *ārddhadhātuka* which is *valādi*. *Ya* which is an *ādēśa* of *tvā* is not *valādi.*

ननु चैवमर्थ एवायं यत्नः क्रियते, 'अन्यस्य कार्यम् उच्यमानमन्यस्य यथा स्यात्' इति

Oh! the attempt is made only for this purpose that the *kārya* enjoined to one may pass on to another also.

सत्यमेवमर्थः । न तु प्राप्नोति

True, it is for that purpose. But it does not chance to happen.

किं कारणम्? Why?

सामान्यातिदेशे [1] हि विशेषानतिदेशः

Transference, though it holds good with reference to general characteristics, does not hold good with reference to special characteristics.

सामान्ये ह्यतिदिश्यमाने विशेषो नातिदिष्टो भवति । तद्यथा - ब्राह्मणवद् अस्मिन् क्षत्रिये वर्तितव्यम् इति सामान्यं यद् ब्राह्मणकार्यं तत् क्षत्रियेऽतिदिश्यते । यद्विशिष्टं माठरे कौण्डिन्ये वा, न तदतिदिश्यते । एवमिहापि सामान्यं यत् प्रत्ययकार्यं तदतिदिश्यते, यद्विशिष्टं वलादेरिति न तदतिदिश्यते ।

Transference applied with reference to general features cannot be applied with reference to special features. For instance, if it is said that this *kṣatriya* may be treated like a *brāhmaṇa*, the treatment given to a *brāhmaṇa* on general lines is transferred to a *kṣatriya*; but the special treatment given to *Māṭhara* and *Kāuṇḍinya* is not transferred. So also the *sāmānyakārya* of *pratyaya* is transferred and not that of a *pratyaya* which commences with letters included in the *pratyāhāra val*.

NOTE:—*Mahābhāṣyakāra*, under the *sūtra* '*Hayavaraṭ*' has stated '*Brāhmaṇā bhōjyantām, Māṭharakāuṇḍinyāu parivēviṣātām*'. From this it appears that the transference holds good to *feeding* and not to *serving*.

यद्येवम् अग्रहीत् - 'इट ईटि' इति सिचो लोपो न प्राप्नोति

If so, (i.e. there is only *sāmānyātidēśa* and not *viśēṣātidēśa*), the elision of *sic* in *agrahīt* cannot take place through the *sūtra* '*Iṭa īṭi*' (8, 2, 28).

1. Other Editions omit हि.

NOTE :—1. The *sūtra* '*Iṭa īṭi*' has to operate after the *sūtra* '*Grahōślita dīrghaḥ*' (7, 2, 37). Since the *acparibhāṣā* makes its appearance in *dīrghavidhi*, the *sthānin* will be *ac*. Hence *ackārya* alone is possible and not *iṭkārya*.

NOTE :—2. *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* reads '*Bhāṣyē sicō lōpō na prāpnōti ityasya* '*tasmād analvidhāu iti vaktavyam iti śēṣaḥ*.'

अनल्विधाविति पुनरुच्यमाने इहापि प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति, प्रदीव्य प्रसीव्य इति ; विशिष्टं ह्येषो अलमाश्रयते वलं नाम

If, on the other hand, the word *analvidhāu* is read in the *sūtra*, there will be *pratiṣēdha* (for *iḍāgama*) in *pradīvya*, *prasīvya* ; for this depends upon *val* which is *alviśēṣa*.

इह च प्रतिषेधो न भविष्यति - अग्रहीत् इति ; विशिष्टं ह्येषोऽनल्माश्रयते इटं नाम

Pratiṣēdha in *agrahīt* too cannot take place; for this depends upon *iṭ*, which is not *alviśēṣa* but an *alsamudāya*.

यदि तर्हि सामान्यमप्यतिदिश्यते विशेषश्च

If, then, there is the *atidēśa* of *sāmānya* as well as *viśēṣa*.

सत्याश्रये विधिरिष्टः

Vidhi is a desired thing if there is *āśraya*.

सति च वलादित्वे इटा भवितव्यम् - अरुदिताम्, अरुदितम्, अरुदित

There is chance for *iṭ*, only if there is *sārvadhātuka* commencing with *val* in the words *aruditām, aruditam, arudita*.

किमतो यत्सति भवितव्यम् ?

What is the idea behind the statement '*sati bhavitavyam* ?

प्रतिषेधस्तु प्राप्नोत्यल्विधित्वात्

There is chance for *pratiṣēdha* an account of its being *alvidhi*.

प्रतिषेधस्तु प्राप्नोति

Pratiṣēdha may chance to set in.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

अल्विधित्वात्, अल्विधिरयं भवति

On account of its being *alvidhi* ; it becomes *alvidhi*.

तत्रानल्विधौ इति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति

Pratiṣēdha chances to happen there, it being *analvidhi*.

NOTE :—The *āgama iṭ* in *aruditām, aruditam, arudita* by the *sūtra* '*Rudādibhyaḥ sārvadhātukē*' (7, 2, 76) is not possible, since the *iḍāgama* is *alvidhi* and hence *tām*, *tam* and *ta* cannot be considered *sārvadhātuka* by *sthānivadbhāva*.

न वानुदेशिकस्य प्रतिषेधादितरेण भावः

Since there is *pratiṣēdha* only to that which has *atidēśa* as its *prayōjana*, the operation of the *vidhi* through one different from it.

न वैष दोष This objection cannot stand.

किं कारणम्? Why?

आनुदेशिकस्य प्रतिषेधात् - अस्त्वत्र आनुदेशिकस्य वलादित्वस्य प्रतिषेधः। स्वाश्रयमत्र वलादित्वं भविष्यति ।

On account of the *pratiṣēdha* to *ānudēśika*; let there be here the *pratiṣēdha* to that *valāditva* which has *atidēśa* for its *prayōjana*; there is here *vaḷāditva* which depends upon itself.

नैतद्विद्महे वलादिर्न वलादिरिति

We do not raise the doubt whether there is *valādi* or not.

किं तर्हि? What then?

स्थानिवद्भावात् सार्वधातुकत्वमेषितव्यम्; तत्रानल्विधौ इति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति ।

Sārvadhātukatva should be secured through *sthānivadbhāva* and there is chance for *pratiṣēdha*, it being *alvidhi*.

किं पुनरादेशिनि अलि आश्रीयमाणे प्रतिषेधो भवति, आहो स्विद् अविशेषेण, आदेशे आदेशिनि च?

Is the *pratiṣēdha* restricted to a letter found in the *sthānin* alone or has it no restriction so that it may have reference to a letter seen both in *ādēśa* and *sthānin*?

कश्चात्र विशेषः? What is the difference here?

आदेश्यल्विधिप्रतिषेधे कुरुवधपिबां गुणवृद्धिप्रतिषेधः

Pratiṣēdha being in the *alvidhi* of *al* found in *sthānin* alone, (need for) the *pratiṣēdha* of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* in the words *kuru*, *vadha* and *piba*.

आदेश्यल्विधिप्रतिषेधे कुरुवधपिबां गुणवृद्ध्योः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । कुरु इत्यत्र स्थानिवद्भावादङ्गसंज्ञा, स्वाश्रयं च लघूपधत्वं, तत्र लघूपधगुणः प्राप्नोति । वधकमित्यत्र स्थानिवद्भावादङ्गसंज्ञा, स्वाश्रयं च अदुपधत्वं, तत्र वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति । पिब इत्यत्र स्थानिवद्भावादङ्गसंज्ञा, स्वाश्रयं च लघूपधत्वं, तत्र लघूपधगुणः प्राप्नोति ।

If the *pratiṣēdha* is restricted to the *vidhi* pertaining to a letter in *sthānin*, there is need to mention the *pratiṣēdha* with reference to *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* in the words *kuru*, *vadha* and *piba*. With reference to the word *kuru*, there is *aṅgasaṁjñā* through *sthānivadbhāva* and there is *laghūpadhatva* in itself and hence *guṇa* (to *u* after *k*) may take place by the *sūtra* '*Pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*' (7, 3, 86). With reference to the word *vadhaka*, there is *aṅgasaṁjñā* through *sthānivadbhāva* and there is *adupadhatva* in itself and hence *vṛddhi* may take place by the *sūtra* '*Ata upadhāyāḥ*' (7, 2, 116). With reference to the word *piba*, there is *aṅgasaṁjñā* through *sthānivadbhāva* and there is *laghūpadhatva* in itself and hence *guṇa* (to *i* after *p*) may take place by the *sūtra* '*Pugantalaghūpadhasya ca.*'

NOTE :—1. *Vadha* in the *vārttika* stands for *vadhaka*. It is derived thus :—The root *han* takes the *ādēśa vadh* before the *pratyaya ṇvul*.

NOTE :—2. *Kuru* is derived thus :— *kṛ+hi=kṛ+u+hi* by the *sūtra* '*Tanādikṛñbhya uḥ*' (3, 1, 79); *kar+u+hi* by '*Sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayōḥ*' (7, 3, 84); *kur + u + hi* by '*Ata ut sārvadhātukē*' (6, 4, 110); and *hi* is dropped by '*Utaśca pratyayād asaṁyōgapūrvāt*' (6, 4, 106).

NOTE :—3. *Piba* is derived thus :— *pā+a+hi=piba+a+hi* by '*Pāghrā ... pibajighra ... sīdāḥ* (7, 3, 78) = *pib+a+hi* by '*Atō lōpaḥ*' (6, 4, 48), *pib+a* by '*Atō hēḥ*' (6, 4, 105).

अस्तु तर्हि अविशेषेण - आदेशे आदेशिनि च

If so, let it be without restriction, so that it may have reference to a letter both in *ādēśa* and *sthānin*.

आदेश्यादेश इति चेत् सुप्तिङ्कृदतिदिष्टेषूपसङ्ख्यानम्

If it is both in *sthānin* and *ādēśa*, mention of its non-application with reference to the *ādēśas* of *sup*, *tiṅ*, *kṛt* etc. is needed.

आदेश्यादेश इति चेत् सुप्तिङ्कृदतिदिष्टेषु उपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम्

If it is with reference to an *al* in both *sthānin* and *ādēśa*, mention is needed of the *sūtra's* non-application with reference to the *ādēśas* of *sup*, *tiṅ*, *kṛt* etc.

सुप् । वृक्षाय प्लक्षाय - स्थानिवद्भावात् सुप्संज्ञा, स्वाश्रयं च यञादित्वं, तत्र प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति । सुप्

With reference to *subādēśa*—The lengthening of *a* in *vṛkṣāya*, *plakṣāya* (is secured by the *sūtra* '*Supi ca*' (7, 3, 102) and it) depends upon *supsaṁjñā* got by *sthānivadbhāva* and *yañāditva* through its own *svarūpa* and the *pratiṣēdha* may happen here.

तिङ् । अरुदिताम् अरुदितम् अरुदित - स्थानिवद्भावात् सार्वधातुकसंज्ञा, स्वाश्रयं च वलादित्वं, तत्र प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति । तिङ्

With reference to *tiṅādēśa*—The *iḍāgama* in *aruditām*, *aruditam*, *arudita* (is got by the *sūtra* '*Rudādibhyaḥ sārvadhātukē*' (7, 2, 76) where *sārvadhātukatva* is secured from *sthānivadbhāva* and *valāditva* from its own *svarūpa* and the *pratiṣēdha* may happen here.

कृदतिदिष्टं - भुवनं सुवनं धुवनम् - स्थानिवद्भावात् प्रत्ययसंज्ञा, स्वाश्रयं च अजादित्वं, तत्र प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति

With reference to *kṛdādēśa*—The *uvaṅādēśa* in *bhuvanam*, *suvanam* and *dhuvanam* (is got by the *sūtra* '*Aci śnudhātubhruvām yvōr iyaṅuvaṅāu*' (6, 4, 77), where *pratyayatva* is secured from *sthānivadbhāva* and *ajāditva* from its own *svarūpa*. The *pratiṣēdha* may happen here.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads '*Upalakṣaṇam ētat; taddhitādēśēṣvapi na prāpnōti, lāigavāyanaḥ iti*'.

किं पुनरत्र ज्यायः ? Which is then better here ?

आदेशिनि अलि आश्रीयमाणे प्रतिषेध इत्येतदेव ज्याय:

The case where the *pratiṣēdha* is restricted to *al* in *sthānin* is better.

कुत एतत्? How is it?

तथा ह्ययं विशिष्ट स्थानिकार्यमादेशे अतिदिशति गुरुवद् गुरुपुत्रे इति यथा। तद्यथा - गुरुवद् अस्मिन् गुरुपुत्रे वर्तितव्यमन्यत्रोच्छिष्टभोजनात् पादोपसङ्ग्रहणाच्च इति। यदि च गुरुपुत्रोऽपि गुरुर्भवति तदपि कर्तव्यं भवति

For he transfers all *sthānikāryas* to *ādēśa* on the analogy of the treatment given to a teacher's son when he acts in place of his teacher. But the statement that one should treat his teacher's son like his teacher does not warrant him to eat his *ucchiṣṭa* or to press his feet. If, on the other hand, the teacher's son becomes the teacher himself, he may deserve them too.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads '*Yatkāryam ādēśaḥ svatō na pratipadyatē, tasya tatra syād atidēśākāṅkṣā; tacchēṣaśca pratiṣēdhaḥ taddvāraka ēva alkāryē yuktaḥ ... yathā guruputrō gurutvē sati na atidēśam apēkṣatē, tathā valāditvam prati ādēśasya nāsti atidēśāpēkṣā iti ētāvatā dṛṣṭāntaḥ.*'

अस्तु तर्हि आदेशिनि अलि आश्रीयमाणे प्रतिषेध:

If so, let the *pratiṣēdha* be restricted with reference to *al* in *sthānin*.

ननु चोक्तम् - आदेश्यल्विधिप्रतिषेधे कुरुवधपिबां गुणवृद्धिप्रतिषेधः इति

Oh, it has been said that, if the *pratiṣēdha* is restricted with reference to *al* in *sthānin*, *pratiṣēdha* with reference to *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* in *kuru*, *vadhaka* and *piba* should be mentioned.

नैष दोषः। करोतौ [1] तपरकरणनिर्देशात्सिद्धम्। पिबिः अदन्तः। वधकमिति नायं ण्वुल्; अन्योऽयम् अकशब्दः किदौणादिकः, रुचक इति यथा।

This difficulty does not arise:—The *u* in *kuru* does not take *guṇa*, since it is read *tapara* (in the *sūtra* '*Ata ut sārvadhātukē* (6, 4, 110); the *ādēśa* of the root *pā* is *piba* which ends in *a*, *cf.* *Pāghrā ... piba jighra ...* (7, 3, 78); *aka* in *vadhaka* is not *ṇvul* but a *pratyaya aka* in *uṇādi* as *aka* in *rucaka*.

1. Bombay Edition reads तपरनिर्देशात्.

एकदेशविकृतस्योपसङ्ख्यानम् Addition of *ēkadēśavikṛta.*

एकदेशविकृतस्य उपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम्

That which has its form slightly changed from the original should be added as a supplement to *ādēśa* in the *sūtra*, so that it may also be *sthānivad* to take its *kārya* like *ādēśa.*

किं प्रयोजनम् ? Why ?

पचतु पचन्तु

तिङ्ग्रहणेन ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

So that the words *pacatu* and *pacantu* may be taken as *tiṅanta.*

एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात्सिद्धम्

It is accomplished since *ēkadēśavikṛta* is not other than original.

एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवद् भवति इति तिङ्ग्रहणेन ग्रहणं भविष्यति । तद्यथा श्वा कर्णे वा पुच्छे वा छिन्ने श्वैव भवति, नाश्वो न गर्दभ इति ।

They are taken as *tiṅanta* on the dictum 'Object is the same, though it has undergone slight modification.' It may be illustrated thus :—Dog whose ears or tail is cut off is evidently a dog and not a horse or an ass.

अनित्यविज्ञानं तु तस्मादुपसङ्ख्यानम् [2]

But, the idea of *anityatva* of *śabda* ; hence is the need for *upasaṅkhyāna.*

अनित्यविज्ञानं तु भवति । नित्याः शब्दाः । नित्येषु नाम शब्देषु कूटस्थैरविचालिभिर्वर्णैर्भवितव्यम् अनपायोपजनविकारिभिः । तत्र स एवायं विकृतश्च इति एतन्नित्येषु शब्देषु नोपपद्यते । तस्माद् उपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ।

But it will lead to the idea that *śabda* is *anitya.* *Śabdas* are *nitya.* It is necessary that the letters in *śabdas* which are *nitya* should be permanent and unchanging without giving room to elision, augmentation or substitution. Hence the statement that this is that word which has undergone modification cannot be correct according to the *nityatva* theory of *śabda.* Hence is the need for *upasaṅkhyāna.*

1. This is *bhāṣya* according to Bombay Edition.
2. तस्मादुपसङ्ख्यानम् is not found in Chaukamba edition.

NOTE:—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* tells us that, though, in the opinion of *Vārttikakāra*, *lāukikanyāya* settles the question when *śabda* is taken to be *kārya* and *upasaṅkhyāna* settles it when *śabda* is taken to be *nitya*, the word *vikṛta* clearly tells us that it may be settled in both the cases through *lāukikanyāya*.

भारद्वाजीयाः पठन्ति

Those belonging to the school of *Bharadvāja* read:—

एकदेशविकृतेषु उपसङ्ख्यानम्

Upasaṅkhyāna with reference to *ēkadēśavikṛtas*.

एकदेशविकृतेषु उपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम्

There is need for *upasaṅkhyāna* with reference to *ēkadēśavikṛtas*.

[1] किं प्रयोजनम्? What is the benefit?

पचतु पचन्तु

तिङ्ग्रहणेन ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

So that *pacatu* and *pacantu* may be taken as *tiṅanta*.

किञ्च कारणं न स्यात्? Why should they not be taken so?

अनादेशत्वात् On account of their not being *ādēśa*.

आदेशः स्थानिवदित्युच्यते ; न चेमे आदेशाः

It is said that *ādēśa* is *sthānivad*; these are not *ādēśas*.

रूपान्यत्वाच्च On account of variation in form too.

अन्यत् खल्वपि रूपं पचतीति, अन्यत् पचत्विति

The word *pacati* has one form and the word *pacatu* has another form.

इमेऽप्यादेशाः These too, are *ādēśas*.

कथम्? How?

आदिश्यते यः स आदेशः । इमे चाप्यादिश्यन्ते ।

Ādēśa is that which is specified. These too are specified.

NOTE;—*Mahābhāṣyakāra* states that there is no need for *upasaṅkhyāna*, since the word *ādēśa* refers not only to *pratyakṣādēśas* but also to *ānumānikādēśas* and since *pacatu*, *pacantu* etc. may come under the latter category.

1. This is omitted in Benares Edition.

आदेशः स्थानिवदिति चेन्नानाश्रितत्वात्

The statement '*ādēśaḥ sthānivad*' does not hold good on account of its being *anāśrita*.

आदेशः स्थानिवद् इति चेत्, तन्न

If it is said that *ādēśa* is like *sthānin*, it does not hold good.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अनाश्रितत्वात्

On account of (the *ādēśa's* not being reckoned (in the *pada-vidhāyakasūtra*).

योऽत्रादेशो नासावाश्रीयते ; यश्च आश्रीयते नासावादेशः

That which is *ādēśa* here (*u* for *i* by the *sūtra* '*Ēruḥ*') is not reckoned (in *suptiṅantam padam*); that which is reckoned there (*tu* in place of *ti*) is not mentioned here as *ādēśa*.

नैतन्मन्तव्यं समुदाये आश्रीयमाणेऽवयवो नाश्रीयते इति । अभ्यन्तरो हि समुदायस्यावयवः । तद्यथा, वृक्षः प्रचलन् सहावयवैः प्रचलति ।

It is not right to hold the view that: if the whole is reckoned, the part is not reckoned. For part is included in the whole. The tree which moves, evidently moves with its parts. This may be taken as an illustration.

आश्रय इति चेदल्विधिप्रसङ्गः

If it is reckoned, there is chance for *alvidhi*.

आश्रय इति चेत्, अल्विधिरयं भवति

If it is reckoned, it becomes *alvidhi*.

तत्रानल्विधाविति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति

If so, there is chance for *pratiṣēdha* on account of its being *alvidhi*.

नैष दोषः, नैवं सति कश्चिदनल्विधिः स्यात् । उच्यते चेदमनल्विधाविति । तत्र प्रकर्षगतिर्विज्ञास्यते, साधीयो योऽल्विधिरिति ।

This objection cannot stand, since, under such circumstances nothing can be counted as *analvidhi*. But the word *analvidhāu*

is read here. It is satisfactorily interpretated thus:—*Alvidhi* is that which is directly so.

कश्च साधीयः ? Which is directly *alvidhi* ?

यत्र प्राधान्येन अल् आश्रीयते Where *al* is reckoned prominently.

यत्र नान्तरीयकोऽल् आश्रीयते नासावल्विधिरिति
Where *al* is reckoned through inference, it is not *alvidhi*.

अथवा उक्तमादेशग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनम् ' आदेशमात्रं स्थानिवद् यथा स्यात् ' इति
Or it has been mentioned that the mention of the word *ādēśa* in the *sūtra* has for its *prayōjana* that it refers to all kinds of *ādēśas* whether they are *pratyakṣa* or *ānumānika*.

अनुपपन्नं स्थान्यादेशत्वं नित्यत्वात् [1]

Impropriety of the terms *sthānin* and *ādēśa* on account of the *nityatva* (of *śabda*).

स्थानी आदेश इत्येतत् नित्येषु शब्देषु नोपपद्यते ।
When *śabdas* are taken to be *nitya*, the terms *sthānin* and *ādēśa* are not appropriate.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

नित्यत्वात् On account of their being *nitya*.

स्थानी हि नाम, यो भूत्वा न भवति ; आदेशो हि नाम योऽभूत्वा भवति । एतच्च नित्येषु शब्देषु नोपपद्यते, यत्सतो नाम विनाशः स्यात्, असतो वा प्रादुर्भाव इति ।
For, *sthānin* is that which was and which is not ; *ādēśa* is that which was not and which is. This is inappropriate with reference to the *nityatva* of *śabdas* that the existent has disappeared and the non-existent has appeared.

सिद्धं तु यथा लौकिकवैदिकेष्वभूतपूर्वेऽपि स्थानशब्दप्रयोगात्

Propriety is established from the use of the word *sthāna* with reference to an object that has not ceased to exist both in the *lāukika* and *vāidika* statements.

1. नित्यशब्दत्वात् is another reading.

सिद्धमेतत् The propriety is established.

कथम्? How?

यथा लौकिकवैदिकेषु च कृतान्तेषु अभूतपूर्वेऽपि स्थानशब्दो वर्तते । लोके तावत् 'उपाध्यायस्य स्थाने शिष्यः' इत्युच्यते, न च तत्र उपाध्यायो भूतपूर्वो भवति । वेदेऽपि, 'सोमस्य स्थाने पूतीकतृणान्यभिषुणुयात्' इत्युच्यते, न च तत्र सोमो भूतपूर्वो भवति ।

The word *sthāna* is used with reference to an object that has not ceased to exist in the statements found in the world and in Vēdas. Firstly it is said in the world 'Let the pupil take the place of the teacher' and the teacher has not ceased to exist. In the *Vēda* too it is said 'Let the juice be taken from *pūtīka* in place of *sōma* and *sōma* has not ceased to exist there.

NOTE:—Here it is evident that *Vārttikakāra* takes the word *sthāna* in the sense of *prasaṅga*.

कार्यविपरिणामाद्वा सिद्धम्

Propriety through the transformation of *kāryā*.

अथ वा कार्यविपरिणामात् सिद्धमेतत्

Or this (propriety) is established through the transformation of *kāryā*.

किमिदं कार्यविपरिणामादिति?

What is meant by the expression *kāryavipariṇāmāt?*

कार्या बुद्धिः, सा विपरिणम्यते

Kāryā implies comprehension and it undergoes transformation.

ननु कार्याविपरिणामादिति भवितव्यम्

Oh! it should then be *kāryā-vipariṇāmāt.*

सन्ति चैव हि औत्तरपदिकानि ह्रस्वत्वानि

There are also compound words where the long vowel in the former member is shortened.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* states that it has sanction from the mention of *bahula* in the *sūtra* '*Ṅyāpōḥ saṁjñāchandasōr bahulam*' (6, 3, 63).

अपि च बुद्धिः सम्प्रत्ययः इत्यनर्थान्तरम्; कार्या बुद्धिः, कार्यः सम्प्रत्ययः कार्यस्य सम्प्रत्ययस्य विपरिणामः, कार्यविपरिणामः, कार्यविपरिणामाद् इति

Besides the words *buddhi* and *sampratyaya* are synonyms; *kāryā* implies *buddhi* and *kārya* implies *sampratyaya*; *kārya-vipariṇāmāt* is the fifth case of *kāryavipariṇāma* which is split as *kāryasya vipariṇāmaḥ*, where *kāryasya* implies *samprat-yayasya*.

परिहारान्तरमेवेदं मत्वा पठितम्

This is given under the impression that this is another way of answering the objection.

कथं [1] चेदं परिहारान्तरं स्यात्?

Under what circumstances does this serve as *parihārāntara*?

यदि भूतपूर्वे स्थानशब्दो वर्तते

If the word *sthāna* is used in the sense of *place* occupied by another previously.

भूतपूर्वे चापि स्थानशब्दो वर्तते

The word *sthāna* is used in *bhūtapūrva* also.

कथम्? How?

बुद्ध्या Through comprehension.

तद्यथा - कश्चित् कस्मैचिद् उपदिशति 'प्राचीनं ग्रामादाम्राः' इति; तस्य सर्वत्राम्रबुद्धिः प्रसक्ता; ततः पश्चाद् आह 'ये क्षीरिणोऽवरोहवन्तः पृथुपर्णास्ते न्यग्रोधाः' इति। स तत्राम्रबुद्ध्या न्यग्रोधबुद्धिं प्रतिपद्यते। स ततः पश्यति बुद्ध्या आम्रांश्च अपकृष्यमाणान् न्यग्रोधांश्च उपधीयमानान्। नित्या एव च स्वस्मिन् विषये आम्राः, नित्याश्च न्यग्रोधाः, बुद्धिस्त्वस्य विपरिणम्यते।

This may be illustrated thus :—One tells another, 'There are mango trees to the east of the village'. He comprehends that there are mango trees in the whole range. He then tells him, 'Those milky ones with pendent branches and big leaves are fig trees'. He comprehends fig trees after mango trees. He

1. Bombay Edition reads वा,

then sees that the mango trees are removed from his mind and fig trees take their place. Mango trees and fig trees do not change by themselves, but their idea in his mind undergoes transformation.

एवमिहापि अस्तिरस्मा अविशेषेणोपदिष्टः ; तस्य सर्वत्रास्तिबुद्धिः प्रसक्ता । सः [1] अस्तेर्भूर्भवति इत्यस्तिबुद्ध्या भवतिबुद्धिं प्रतिपद्यते । स ततः पश्यति बुद्ध्या अस्तिं चापकृष्यमाणं भवतिं चोपधीयमानम् । नित्य एव च स्वस्मिन्विषये अस्तिः, नित्यो भवतिश्च ; बुद्धिस्त्वस्य विपरिणम्यते ।

So also the form *as* is taught to him without reservation; he comprehends that form throughout its range. He then comprehends the form *bhū* after *as* on hearing the statement '*As* is for *bhū*.' He then sees that the range of operation of *as* is restricted in his mind and that of *bhū* takes its place. The forms *as* and *bhū* do not change by themselves, but their idea in his mind undergoes transformation.

अपवादप्रसङ्गस्तु स्थानिवत्त्वात्

Chance (for *utsargakārya*) in *apavāda* thro' *sthānivadbhāva*.

अपवादे उत्सर्गकृतं च [2] प्राप्नोति । कर्मण्यण्, आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः इति ; केऽपि अणि कृतं प्राप्नोति ।

The *kārya* of the general rule may shoot to exception. '*Karmaṇyaṇ*' is the general rule; '*Ātōsnupasargē kaḥ*' is the exception; *ṇitkarya* may shoot to *kit*.

किं कारणम् ? How ?

स्थानिवत्त्वात् Through *sthānivadbhāva*.

उक्तं वा This has been answered.

किमुक्तम्? How has it been answered?

विषयेण तु नानालिङ्गकरणात् सिद्धम् इति

The object is achieved through peculiar *liṅgas* attached to different *viṣayas*.

1. Bombay Edition reads अस्तेर्भूः इत्यनेनास्तिबुद्ध्या.
2. Bombay Edition omits च.

NOTE :—This is a *vārttika* under the *sūtra* '*Aiuṇ*' in the second *āhnika*. cf Vol. I p. 96

अथवा Or

सिद्धं तु षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य स्थानिवद्वचनात्

The object is evidently achieved by ascribing *sthānivadbhāva* to the *ādēśa* which is *ṣaṣṭhīnirdiṣṭa*.

सिद्धमेतत् The object is achieved.

कथम् ? How ?

षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य आदेशः स्थानिवदिति वक्तव्यम्

The *sūtra* has to be so read that the word *ādēśa* may be qualified by the word *ṣaṣṭhīnirdiṣṭasya*.

तर्त्तर्हि षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

Then the expression *ṣaṣṭhīnirdiṣṭasya* is to be read.

न कर्तव्यम् । प्रकृतमनुवर्तते

It need not be read. There is *anuvṛtti* for what is found in the *prakaraṇa*.

क्व प्रकृतम् ?

What is the *sūtra* in the *prakaraṇa* whence there is *anuvṛtti* ?

षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा इति

The *sūtra* *Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā*.

अथ वा आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति - नापवादे उत्सर्गकृतं भवतीति, यदयं श्यन्नादीन् कांश्चिच्छितः करोति श्यन्, श्नम्, श्ना, शः, श्नुः इति ।

Or the procedure of *Ācārya Pāṇini* suggests that the *kārya* of the *utsarga* does not shoot to *apavāda*, since he reads *śyan*, *śnam*, *śnā*, *śaḥ*, *śnuh*, with *ś* as *anubandha* in the *apavāda sūtras* (though *śap* in the *utsarga* '*Kartari śap*' has *ś* as *anubandha*.)

VI

तस्य दोषः The defect in the *sūtra*.

तस्यैतस्य लक्षणस्य दोषः

Defect in this *sūtra* :—(*Sthānivad ādēsōsnalvidhāu*)

(1) तयादेशे उभये [1] प्रतिषेधः

Need of *pratiṣēdha* with reference to *ubhayē* which has got *tayādēśa*.

तयादेश उभये प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - उभये देवमनुष्याः - तयपो ग्रहणेन ग्रहणाद् जसि विभाषा प्राप्नोति

There is need for the mention that *ayac* in *ubhaya* which is the *ādēśa* of *tayap* (mentioned in '*Saṅkhyāyā avayavē tayap* (5, 2, 42) does not take *sthānivadbhāva*, so that *ubhayē* alone may be the nominative plural form as in '*ubhayē dēvamanuṣyāḥ*.' Otherwise since it has to be considered *tayabanta* through *sthānivadbhāva*, there may be two forms *ubhayē* and *ubhayāḥ* on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Prathamacaramatayālpārdhakatipayanēmāśca*' (1, 1, 33) following the *sūtra* '*Vibhāṣā jasi*.'

नैष दोषः । अयच् प्रत्ययान्तरम्

There is no room for this defect, since this *ayac* is a different one (and not the *ādēśa* of *tayap*).

यदि प्रत्ययान्तरम् उभयी इति ईकारो न प्राप्नोति

If it is a different *pratyaya*, *ubhaya* cannot take *ṅīp* by the *sūtra* *Ṭiḍḍhāṇañ........kvarapaḥ*, to secure the form *ubhayī*.

मा भूदेवम् Let it not be so.

मात्रच इत्येवं भविष्यति

It takes place through the mention of *mātrac*.

कथम् ? How ?

मात्रजिति नेदं प्रत्ययग्रहणम्

Mātrac does not denote *pratyaya*.

किं तर्हि What then ?

प्रत्याहारग्रहणम् It denotes *pratyāhāra*.

क सन्निविष्टानां प्रत्याहारः What is it the *pratyāhāra* of ?

मात्रशब्दात् प्रभृति आ अयचश्चकारात्

1. Bombay Edition reads उभयप्रतिषेधः.

(It is the *pratyāhāra*) from *mātra* in the *sūtra* '*Pramāṇē dvayasaj-daghnañ-mātracaḥ*' (5, 2, 37) to *c* in '*Dvitribhyām tayasyāyajvā*' (5, 2, 43).

यदि प्रत्याहारग्रहणं 'कति तिष्ठन्ति' अत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If it is taken as *pratyāhāra*, it chances to come even in *kati* in the sentence *kati tiṣṭhanti*.

NOTE :—This objection is raised since *Kimaḥ saṅkhyāparimāṇē ca* (5, 2, 41) lies between those two *sūtras*.

अत इति वर्तते There is the *anuvṛtti* for the word *ataḥ*.

एवमपि तैलमात्रा घृतमात्रा अत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If so, the *ṅīp* will appear in the words *tāilamātrāḥ*, *ghṛtamātrāḥ*.

NOTE:—The objection is based upon the fact that, if *mātrac* is a *pratyāhāra*, the word *mātra* may refer not only to *pratyayas*, but also to stems.

सदृशस्याप्यसन्निविष्टस्य न भवति प्रत्याहारग्रहणेन ग्रहणम्

Even though the stem *mātra* is similar to the *pratyaya mātra*, it is not included under the *pratyāhāra*, since it is not in that group.

(2) जात्याख्यायां वचनातिदेशे[1] स्थानिवद्भावप्रतिषेधः

Need for the mention of the *pratiṣēdha* of *sthānivadbhāva* when there is *atidēśa* for *vacana*, when *jāti* is referred to.

जात्याख्यायां वचनातिदेशे स्थानिवद्भावस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । व्रीहिभ्य आगत इत्यत्र 'घेर्ङिति' इति गुणः प्राप्नोति ।

Mention should be made of *pratiṣēdha* to *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to the *ādēśa* of *vacana* when genus is referred to. In *vrīhibhyaḥ* in the sentence *vrīhibhya āgataḥ* the *sūtra* '*Ghēr ṅiti*' (7, 3, 111) will operate.

NOTE :— On the strength of the *sūtra* '*Jātyākhyāyām ēkasmin bahuvacanam anyatarasyām*' (1, 2, 58), there is plural number in *vrīhibhyaḥ*. If there is *sthānivadbhāva* to *bhyas*, it may be considered as the fourth case singular suffix *ṅē* and in that case the *sūtra* '*Ghēr ṅiti*' will operate.

1. Bombay Edition reads वचनादेशे.

नैष दोषः । उक्तमेतत् 'अर्थातिदेशात्सिद्धम्' इति

This difficulty does not arise, since it is said under *Jātyākhyāyām ēkasmin bahuvacanam anyatarasyām*' that *vacana* does not denote *pāribhaṣikavacana*, but is used in the sense 'that which is said.'

NOTE :—Cf. the *bhāṣya* text under that *sūtra*. *Nēdam pāribhāṣikasya vacanasya grahanam. Kim tarhi? Anvarthagrahaṇam - ucyatē vacanam, bahūnām arthānām vacanam bahuvacanam.*

(3) ङ्याब्ग्रहणेऽदीर्घः

The shortened form in *ṅī* and *āp*.

ङ्याब्ग्रहणे अदीर्घ आदेशो न स्थानिवदिति वक्तव्यम्

The short *ādēśa* of *ṅī* and *āp* should be prohibited from taking *sthānivadbhāva*.

NOTE:—It is worth consideration whether the *vārttika* was *Ṅyābgrahaṇē dīrghē* so that *sthānivadbhāvapratiṣēdha* may be taken here from the previous *vārttika*.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

निष्कौशाम्बिः, अतिखट्वः - ङ्याब्ग्रहणेन ग्रहणात् सुलोपो मा भूदिति

So that there may not be elision of *su*, the nominative singular suffix in the words *niṣkāuśāmbiḥ* and *atikhaṭvaḥ* (on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Halṅyābhyō dīrghāt sutisyapṛktam hal*' (6, 1, 68) taking the final *i* and *a* in their stem to be *ṅī* and *āp* by *sthānivadbhāva*.

NOTE :—*Khaṭvām atikrāntaḥ* becomes *atikhaṭvaḥ* by the *vārttika* '*Atyādayaḥ krāntādyarthē dvitīyayā*' and *Niṣkrāntaḥ Kauśāmbyāḥ* becomes *Niṣkāuśāmbiḥ* by the *vārttika* '*Nirādayaḥ krāntādyarthē pañcamyā*'. The shortening of the final of the stems is on the basis of the *sūtra Gōstriyōr upasarjanasya* (1, 2, 48).

ननु च दीर्घाद् इत्युच्यते

Oh! there is the word *dīrghāt* (in the *sūtra* 6, 1, 68)

तन्न वक्तव्यं भवति It need not be read.

किं पुनरत्र ज्यायः ? Which is better ?

स्थानिवद्भावप्रतिषेध एव ज्यायान् । इदमपि सिद्धं भवति अतिखट्वाय, अतिमालाय - 'याडापः' इति याण्[1] न भवति ।

Prohibition of *sthānivadbhāva* is better. This too is accomplished by it that the *āgama yāṭ* does not appear in the words *atikhaṭvāya, atimālāya* by the *sūtra* '*Yāḍ āpaḥ*' (7, 3, 113).

अथेदानीमसत्यपि स्थानिवद्भावे दीर्घत्वे कृते पित्रासौ भूतपूर्व इति कृत्वा याडाप इति याट् कस्मान्न भवति ?

Now let there be no *sthānivadbhāva*; let the lengthening (of *a*) be done by the *sūtra* '*Supi ca*.' Why should not this *ā* feeling that it was originally *ṭāp* allow the *āgama yāṭ* by the *sūtra* '*Yāḍāpaḥ*.'

लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैवेति

From the dictum that the word actually mentioned has preference to the word got from *lakṣaṇa*.

ननु चेदानीं सत्यपि स्थानिवद्भावे एतया परिभाषया शक्यमिहोपस्थातुम्

Cannot we meet the objection here through this *paribhāṣā* even after *sthānivadbhāva* sets in?

नेत्याह । न [2] हीदानीं क्वचिदपि स्थानिवद्भावः स्यात्

"No," says he. For nowhere could there be *sthānivadbhāva* then.

तर्हि वक्तव्यम्

Then it (*sthānivadbhāvapratiṣēdha*) must be read.

न वक्तव्यम् It need not be read.

प्रश्लिष्टनिर्देशात् सिद्धम् It is achieved through *praśliṣṭanirdēśa*.

1. Bombay Edition reads याड्.

2. Bombay Edition reads तर्हीदानीम्.

प्रश्लिष्टनिर्देशोऽयम् ङी - ई, ईकारान्तात्, आ - आप् आकारान्ताद् इति

Ṅī and *āp* in *Halṅyābhyaḥ* in the *sūtra* is taken as *ṅī ī* and *ā āp*, so that the word may mean *halantāt, īkārāntāt ṅīpratyayāt* and *ākārāntād āppratyayāt.*

(4) आहिभुवोरीट्प्रतिषेधः

Need for the prohibition of *īṭ* in the *ādēśas āha* and *bhū* (of *brū* and *as* respectively).

आहिभुवोरीटः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - आत्थ, अभूत् - अस्तिब्रूग्रहणेन ग्रहणादीट् प्राप्नोति

The *pratiṣēdha* of *īṭ* in the words *āttha* and *abhūt*, the forms of (the *ādēśas*) *āha* and *bhū* has to be stated. There is chance for *īṭ* to set in, since they do the *kārya* of the roots *as* and *brū* by *sthānivadbhāva.*

NOTE :—The root *brū* optionally takes the *ādēśa āh* by the *sūtra* '*Bruvaḥ pañcānām ādita āhō bruvaḥ*' (3, 4, 80). The *h* of *āh* before *tha* is changed to *tha* by the *sūtra* '*Āhasthaḥ*' (8, 2, 35) which is deaffricated before the termination *tha.* If there is *sthānivadbhāva* for *āh*, it may allow the following *tha* take the *īḍāgama* by the *sūtra* '*Bruva īṭ.* (7, 3, 93). The root *as* takes the *ādēśa bhū* by the *sūtra Astēr bhūḥ* (2, 4, 52). If *bhū* in *abhūt* takes *sthānivadbhāva*, it will be followed by *īḍāgama* by the *sūtra* '*Astisicō ऽpṛktē* (7, 3, 96).

आहेस्तावन्न वक्तव्यः। आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नाहेरीड् भवतीति, यदयम् 'आहस्थः' इति झलादिप्रकरणे थत्वं शास्ति ।

Firstly with reference to *āha*, it need not be mentioned. The procedure of *Ācārya Pāṇini* suggests that *āh* does not allow *īḍāgama* after it, since he reads the *sūtra Āhasthaḥ* (8, 2, 35) in the context where there is *anuvṛtti* to *jhali* from the *sūtra* '*Jhalō jhali*'.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्; अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम् ।

This is not a *jnāpaka* to it, since there is another *prayōjana* for it.

किम्? What?

भूतपूर्वगतिर्यथा विज्ञायेत झलादिर्यो भूतपूर्व इति

In order that it may be known that the termination was *jhalādi* in its former form (i. e.) the *sthānin* of *tha* is *jhalādi*.

यद्येवं थवचनमनर्थकं स्यात् । आथिमेवायमुच्चारयेत् ब्रुवः पञ्चानामादित आथो ब्रुवः इति ।

If so, the *sūtra* '*Āhasthaḥ*' is unnecessary; *Ācārya* would have read *āthō* for *āhō* in the *sūtra*, so that the *sūtra* may read '*Bruvaḥ pañcānām ādita āthō bruvaḥ*'.

भवतेश्चापि न वक्तव्यः । अस्स्तिसिचोऽपृक्ते इति द्विसकारको निर्देशः, अस्तेः सकारान्ताद् इति

It need not be mentioned with reference to *bhū* also. The *sūtra* '*Asstisicōऽpṛktē*' is read with two *sakāras*, so that it may mean 'after *as* which ends in *s*.'

(5) **वध्यादेशे वृद्धितत्त्वप्रतिषेधः**

Pratiṣēdha of *vṛddhi* and *tattva* in *vadh*, the *ādēśa* (of *han*.)

वध्यादेशे वृद्धितत्त्वयोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - वधकं पुष्करमिति - स्थानिवद्भावात् वृद्धितत्त्वे प्राप्नुतः ।

Prohibition has to be made of *vṛddhi* and the change to *takāra* in the *ādēśa vadh*; for in the word *vadhakam* in the expression *vadhakam puṣkaram*, there is chance for *vṛddhi* and *tattva* through *sthānivadbhāva*.

NOTE:—Since the *pratyaya aka* which is the *ādēśa* of *ṇvul* is *ṇit* through *sthānivadbhāva* and hence *a* of *vadh* may take *vṛddhi* through the *sūtra* '*Ata upadhāyāḥ*' and *dh* of *vadh* may be changed to *t* through *sthānivadbhāva* by the *sūtra* '*Hanasstōऽciṇṇalōḥ*' (7, 3, 32).

नैष दोषः । उक्तमेतत्, नायं ण्वुल्, किन्त्वन्योऽयमकशब्दः किदौणादिको रुचक इति यथा [1] ।

This defect does not arise. It has already been answered that it is not *ṇvul*, but another *pratyaya aka* which comes under *uṇādi* and is *kit* like *aka* in the word *rucaka*.

1. Cf. p. 91.

(6) इड्विधिश्च

Pratiṣēdha of *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to *idvidhipratiṣēdha* (to be mentioned.)

इड्विधेयः। आवधिषीष्ट-'एकाच उपदेशेऽनुदात्तात्' इति इट्प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति

Since there is a chance for *idpratiṣēdha* in the word *āvadhiṣīṣṭa* through the *sūtra* '*Ēkāca upadēśēsnudāttāt*' (7, 2, 10), there is need to prohibit that *pratiṣēdha*. so that *īḍāgama* may set in there.

NOTE:—Since the root *han* is *ēkāc* and *anudātta*, there will be prohibition to *īḍāgama* in *āvadhiṣīṣṭa* if the *sthānivadbhāva* of *vadh* is resorted to. The root has taken the *ātmanēpada* termination through the *sūtra* '*Āṅō yamahanaḥ*' (1, 3, 28)

नैष दोषः। आद्युदात्तनिपातनं करिष्यते। स निपातनस्वरः प्रकृतिस्वरस्य बाधको भवति [1]।

This difficulty will not arise, since it is made to get *ādyudātta* through *nipātana* and the *nipātanasvara* sets at naught the *prakṛtisvara*.

एवमपि उपदेशिवद्भावो वक्तव्यः। यथैव हि निपातनस्वरः प्रकृतिस्वरं बाधते, एवं प्रत्ययस्वरमपि बाधेत - आवधिषीष्ट इति।

Even then there is need for *upadēśivadbhāva*, since, otherwise, the *nipātanasvara* will set at naught the *pratyayasvara* in *āvadhiṣīṣṭa* in the same way as it does the *prakṛtisvara*.

नैष दोषः। आर्धधातुकीयाः सामान्येन भवन्ति अनवस्थितेषु प्रत्ययेषु तत्रार्धधातुकसामान्ये वधिभावे कृते सतिशिष्टत्वात् प्रत्ययस्वरो भविष्यति।

This difficulty does not arise, since it is first stated that *ādēśas* due to *ārdhadhātuka* come before the *pratyayas* actually take place and at the first stage itself the *ādēśa vadh* takes the place of *han* and then *ārddhadhātuka* appears and thereafter *pratyayasvara* sets in through the *vārttika* '*Sati śiṣṭasvarabalīyastvam anyatra vikaraṇēbhya iti vācyam.*'

1. Bombay reading is भविष्यति.

(7) आकारान्तान्नुक्षुक्प्रतिषेधः

Need for the *pratiṣēdha* of *nuk* and *ṣuk* after *ākārānta.*

आकारान्तात् नुक्षुकोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः विलापयति, भापयते - लीभीग्रहणेन ग्रहणान्नुक्षुकौ प्राप्नुतः ।

The *pratiṣēdha* of *nuk* and *ṣuk* after *ākārānta* in *vilāpayati, bhāpayatē* must be mentioned, since *nuk* and *ṣuk* appear there on account of their being *lī* and *bhī* through *sthānivadbhāva.*

NOTE:—The root *lī* takes *ātva* by the *sūtra* '*Vibhāṣā līyatēḥ*' (6, 1, 51) and *nuk* by the *sūtra* '*Līlōr nuk...*' (7, 3, 39) and *bhī* takes *ātva* by the *sūtra* '*Bibhētēr hētubhayē*' (6, 1, 56) and *ṣuk* by the *sūtra* '*Bhiyō hētubhayē ṣuk*' (7, 3, 40).

नैष दोषः This defect does not arise.

लीभियोः प्रश्लिष्टनिर्देशात् सिद्धम् [1]

It is achieved through *praśliṣṭanirdēśa* in *lī* and *bhī.*

लीभियोः प्रश्लिष्टनिर्देशोऽयं ली ई ईकारान्तस्य इति, भी ई ईकारान्तस्य च इति

Lī and *bhī* in '*Līlōr nuk....*' (7, 3, 39) and '*Bhiyō hētubhayē ṣuk* (7, 3, 40) are read as *lī ī, bhī ī* so that they may mean *lī* which ends in *ī* and *bhī* which ends in *ī.*

(8) लोडादेशे शाभावजभावधित्वहिलोपैत्त्वप्रतिषेधः

Need of *pratiṣēdha* of *śābhāva, jabhāva, dhitva, hilōpa* and *ētva.*

लोडादेशे एषां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - शिष्टात्, हतात्, भिन्तात्, कुरुतात्, स्तात् । लोडादेशे कृते शाभावो जभावो धित्वं हिलोप एत्वम् इत्येते विधयः प्राप्नुवन्ति ।

Prohibition of these—*Śābhāva, jabhāva, dhitva, hilōpa* and *ētva*—with reference to *tāt,* the *ādēśa* of *lōṭ* (by the *sūtra Tuhyōs tātaṅṅāśiṣyanyatarasyām*' (7, 1, 35) has to be mentioned, so that the forms *śiṣṭāt, hatāt, bhintāt, kurutāt* and *stāt* may be secured. When the *ādēśa tāt* of *lōṭ* begins to operate, *śābhāva, jabhāva, dhitva, hilōpa* and *ētva* chance to appear in the forms *śiṣṭāt* etc. respectively through *sthānivadbhāva* (on the strength

1. Some take this as *bhāṣya.*

of the *sūtras* '*Śā hāu*' (6, 4' 35), '*Hantēr jaḥ*' (6, 4, 36), '*Hujhalbhyō hēr dhiḥ*' (6, 4, 101), '*Utaśca pratyayād asaṁyōga-pūrvāt*' (6, 4, 106) and '*Ghvasōr ēddhāu abhyāsalōpaśca*' 6, 4, 119).

नैष दोषः This defect will not arise.

इदमिह सम्प्रधार्यम् - लोडादेशः क्रियताम्, एते विधय इति ।

This has to be decided here which operates first, *lōḍādēśa-vidhāyaka-sūtra* or the *sūtras* which bring about these—*śābhāva, jabhāva, dhitva, hilōpa* and *ētva*.

किमत्र कर्तव्यम्? What is to be done here?

परत्वाल्लोडादेशः

The *sūtra* enjoining *lōḍādēśa* operates before any of the *sūtras* bringing about *śābhāva* etc. since it is *para*.

अथेदानीं लोडादेशे कृते पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानात् कस्मादेते विधयो न भवन्ति ?

How is it that these rules do not operate through *punaḥ-prasaṅgavijñāna* after the rule bringing about *tāt*, the *ādēśa* of *lōṭ* has operated?

सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेवेति कृत्वा ।

On applying the principle that, when two rules conflict with each other, the one defeated at its first operation is defeated for ever.

(9) त्रयादेशे स्रन्तप्रतिषेधः

Need of *pratiṣēdha* of *sranta* with reference to *trayādēśa*-

त्रयादेशे स्रन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - तिसृणाम् । तिसृभावे कृते त्रेस्त्रयः इति त्रयादेशः प्राप्नोति ।

There is need to mention that *sranta* is prohibited from *trayādēśa*. After *tri* is changed to *tisṛ* by the *sūtra* '*Tricaturōḥ striyām tisṛcatasṛ*' (6, 4, 4), there is chance for the *ādēśa traya* to appear there by the *sūtra* '*Trēstrayaḥ*' (6, 3, 48) through *sthānivadbhāva*.

नैष दोषः This objection cannot stand.

इदमिह सम्प्रधार्यम् - तिसृभावः क्रियतां, त्रयादेश इति ।
This has to be decided here which is to operate first—the *ādēśa tisṛ* or the *ādēśa traya.*

किमत्र कर्तव्यम्? What is to be done here?

परत्वात् तिसृभावः
Tisṛbhāva is to operate first, since the *sūtra* enjoining it is *para.*

अथेदानीं तिसृभावे कृते पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानात् त्रयादेशः कस्मान्न भवति?
How is it that the rule enjoining the *ādēśa traya* does not operate after that enjoining *tisṛbhāva* by the principle of *punaḥprasaṅgavijñāna* has operated?

सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेव इति
When two rules conflict with each other, the one defeated at its first operation is defeated for ever.

(12) **आम्विधौ च** In *āmvidhi* too.

आम्विधौ च स्रन्तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - चतस्रः तिष्ठन्ति । चतसृभावे कृते 'चतुरनडुहोरामुदात्तः' इति आम् प्राप्नोति ।
There is need for prohibition with reference to a word ending in *sṛ* in *āmvidhi,* so that the form *catasraḥ* in *catasraḥ tiṣṭhanti* may stand. Otherwise after *catasṛbhāva* is secured through the *sūtra* '*Tricaturōḥ striyām tisṛcatasṛ* (7, 2, 99), *ām* may set in by the *sūtra* '*Caturanaḍuhōr ām udāttaḥ* (7, 1, 98).

नैष दोषः This difficulty will not arise.

इदमिह सम्प्रधार्यम् - चतसृभावः क्रियतां, 'चतुरनडुहोरामुदात्तः' इत्यामिति ।
This is to be decided whether *catasṛbhāva* is to operate first or *āmbhāva* through the *sūtra* '*Caturanaḍuhōr ām udāttaḥ.*'

किमत्र कर्तव्यम्? What is to be done here?

परत्वाच्चतसृभावः
Catasṛbhāva is to operate first since the *sūtra* enjoining it is *para.*

अथेदानीं चतसृभावे कृते पुनःप्रसङ्गविज्ञानादाम् कस्मान्न भवति?
Why should not *ām* make its appearance through the principle of '*Punaḥprasaṅgavijñāna*' after *catasṛbhāva* is secured?

सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेव इति

When two rules conflict with each other, the one defeated at its first operation is defeated for ever.

(11) स्वरे वस्वादेशे With reference to *svara* in *vasvādēśa.*

स्वरे वस्वादेशे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - विदुषः पश्य - शतुरनुमो नद्यजादी अन्तोदात्ताद् इत्येष स्वरः प्राप्नोति

Pratiṣēdha with reference to *svara* in *vasvādēśa* need be mentioned, so that *viduṣaḥ* in *viduṣaḥ paśya* may not get, through *sthānivadbhāva*, the *svara* enjoined in the *sūtra* '*Śatur anumō nadyajādī*' (6, 1, 173) where there is *anuvṛtti* for *antōdāttāt* from the *sūtra* '*Antōdāttād uttarapadād anyatarasyām anityasamāsē*' (6, 1, 169).

NOTE:—The *śatṛ* after the root *vid* takes optionally the *ādēśa vas* by the *sūtra* '*Vidēḥ śatur vasuḥ*' (7, 1, 36). *Viduṣaḥ* has *udātta* in the second syllable and through this *ākṣēpa* it will get it in the final syllable.

नैष दोषः, अनुमः, इति प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति

This objection cannot stand, since there is the *pratiṣēdha* through the word *anumaḥ* in the *sūtra*.

अनुम इत्युच्यते, न चात्र नुमं पश्यामः

Mention is made of *anumaḥ* and we do not see *num* here.

अनुम इति नेदमागमग्रहणम्

The *āgama num* is not referred to in the word *anumaḥ*.

किं तर्हि ? What is it then ?

प्रत्याहारग्रहणम् The *pratyāhāra um* is referred to.

क्व सन्निविष्टानां प्रत्याहारः *Pratyāhāra* of whom ?

उकारात् प्रभृति आ नुमो मकारात् From *u* to *m* in *num.*

NOTE:—*U* is found in '*Tanādikṛñbhya uḥ*' (3, 1, 79) and *num* is found in '*Iditō num dhātōḥ*' (7, 1, 58).

यदि प्रत्याहारग्रहणं, लुनता पुनता, अत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If it refers to *pratyāhāra*, the same will have a chance in *lunatā* and *punatā.*

NOTE:—*Śnā* mentioned in '*Kryādibhyaḥ śnā*' (3, 1, 81) occurs between *u* and *m*.

अनुम्ग्रहणेन न शत्रन्तं विशेष्यते

The word *anum* does not qualify that which ends in *śatṛ*.

किं तर्हि? What does it qualify then?

शतैव विशेष्यते - शता यो अनुम्क इति

Śatṛ serves as the *viśēṣya* and it means '*Śatā yō anumkaḥ*.'

अवश्यं चैतदेवं विज्ञेयम् । आगमग्रहणे हि सति इह प्रसज्येत - मुञ्चता, मुञ्चतः इति

It is certainly to be interpreted that way; for if there is *āgamagrahaṇa*, the same will have a chance to happen in *muñcatā*, *muñcataḥ*.

(12) **गोः पूर्वणित्त्वात्वस्वरेषु**

On *pūrvatva*, *ṇittva*, *ātva* and *svara* with reference to *gō*.

गोः पूर्वणित्त्वात्वस्वरेषु प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

Prohibition has to be made on *pūrvatva*, *ṇittva*, *ātva* and *svara* with reference to *gō*.

चित्रग्वग्रं शबलग्वग्रं, 'सर्वत्र विभाषा गोः' इति विभाषा पूर्वत्वं प्राप्नोति

Gu in the compound words *citragu* and *śabalagu*, through *sthānivadbhāva*, and *a* of *agram* may optionally take the *prakṛtibhāva* through the *sūtra* '*Sarvatra vibhāṣā gōḥ*' (6, 1, 122) and remain *citrgu agram* and *śabalagu agram*.

नैष दोषः । एङः इति वर्तते, तत्र अनल्विधौ इति प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति ।

This difficulty will not arise. There is *anuvṛtti* for *ēṅaḥ* and consequently the *pratiṣēdha analvidhāu* will operate.

एवमपि हे चित्रगो अग्रम्, अत्र प्राप्नोति

Even then it will happen when *citragō* is a vocative as in '*Hē citragō agram*.'

णित्त्वम् । चित्रगुः चित्रगू चित्रगवः - 'गोतो णित्' इति णित्त्वं प्राप्नोति । आत्वम् । चित्रगुं पश्य, शबलगुं पश्य, 'आ - गोतः' इत्यात्वं प्राप्नोति

The *sarvanāmasthāna* case-suffixes in *citraguḥ*, *citragū* and *citragavaḥ* may take *ṇittva* through the *sūtra* '*Gōtō ṇit*' (7, 1, 90)

so that *u* in *gu* may take *vṛddhi* through *sthānivadbhāva.* *Ākāra* may become *ēkādēśa* between *u*, in *citragu* and in *śabalagu* and *am* the case-suffix in the expression *citragum paśya* and *śabalagum paśya* on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Ātōsmśasōḥ*' (6, 1, 93) through *sthānivadbhāva* of *gu*.

नैषः दोषः । तपरकरणात्सिद्धम् - तपरकरणसामर्थ्यात् णित्त्वात्वे न भविष्यतः ।
There is no room for this *dōṣa.* The object is achieved through *taparakaraṇa.* The two—*ṇittva* and *āttva*—do not step in, since *gō* in *gōtaḥ* and *ō* in *ōtaḥ* are provided with *t*.

स्वर । बहुगुमान् - 'न गोश्वन्त्सावर्ण' इति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति ।
The *antōdāttatva* of the word *bahugumān* on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Hrasvanuḍbhyām matup*' (6, 1, 176) will be prohibited by the *sūtra* '*Na gōśvan...*' (6, 1, 182) if *u* in *gu* takes *sthānivadbhāva.*

(13) **करोतिपिब्योः**[1] **प्रतिषेधः**
Pratiṣēdha with reference to *kṛ* and *pib.*

करोतिपिब्योः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - कुरु, पिब इति - स्थानिवद्भावात् लघूपधगुणः प्राप्नोति ।
Prohibition with reference to the roots *kṛ* and *pib*; for the first *u* in *kuru* and *i* in *piba* will take *guṇa* through *sthānivadbhāva* on the strength of '*Pugantalaghūpadhasya ca.*'

उक्तं वा[2] It has been answered.

किमुक्तम्? How has it been answered?

करोतौ तपरकरणनिर्देशात्सिद्धम् । पिबिरदन्तः इति[3]
The objection is answered through *taparakaraṇa* in *ut* in '*Ata ut sārvadhātukē*' with reference to *kṛ* (6, 4, 110) and (with reference to *pib*) *piba* with a final *a* is taken as *ādēśa.*

NOTE:—Of the thirteen *dōṣas* pointed out by *Vārttikakāra*, *Mahābhāṣyakāra* has completely met with all but the *twelfth* and partially met with it too.

1. Bombay Edition reads पिबत्योः
2. This is noted as a *vārttika* in Bombay edition.
3. Cf. p. 91.

अचः परस्मिन् पूर्वविधौ (1, 1, 57)

There are *eleven* topics here:—(1) The need for *acaḥ* in the *sūtra* (2) The need for *parasmin* (3) The need for *pūrvavidhāu* (4) The need for *vidhi* in *pūrvavidhāu* (5) The benefits of *sthānivadbhāva* if *pūrvavidhi* is split as *pūrvasmād vidhi* (6) The *vārttika aparavidhāviti*, benefits of *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to *svavidhi* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra's* view on the same (7) The benefits of this *sūtra* (8) The need for *sthānivadbhāva* and *asiddhatva* or otherwise (9) Is there *sthānivadbhāva* when a *vidhi* is to operate with reference to that which immediately precedes or to all which precede? (10) Can the *ādēśa* of a *hal* and *ac* take *sthānivadbhāva* or no? (11) Is *sthānivadbhāva* admitted when *sthānin* alone stands as *nimitta* to the *kārya* or elements other than *sthānin* too stand as *nimitta?*

I

अच इति किमर्थम् ?

What for is the mention of *acaḥ* (in the *sūtra*)?

प्रश्नो विश्नः, द्यूत्वा स्यूत्वा, आक्राष्टाम्, आगत्य

(So that the following forms may be considered to be in order):—*praśnaḥ, viśnaḥ, dyūtvā, syūtvā, ākrāṣṭām, āgatya.*

प्रश्नो विश्न[1] इत्यत्र छकारस्य शकारः परनिमित्तकः, तस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् 'छे च' इति तुक् प्राप्नोति; अचः इति वचनान्न भवति ।

The substitution of *ś* for *ch* to form the words *praśnaḥ* and *viśnaḥ* is *paranimittaka* (i. e.) owes to what follows. If it is allowed to have *sthānivadbhāva*, there is chance for the *āgama tuk* after *a* and *i* respectively on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Chē ca*' (6, 1, 73); the presence of the word *acaḥ* in the *sūtra* prevents it.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । क्रियमाणेऽपि वा अज्ग्रहणे, अवश्यमत्र तुगभावे यत्नः कर्तव्यः, अन्तरङ्गत्वाद्धि तुक् प्राप्नोति ।

1. The words *praśnaḥ* and *viśnaḥ* are thus derived:—The roots *pracch* and *vicch* take *naṅ* by the *sūtra* '*Yajayācayatavicchapracchrakṣō naṅ*' (3, 3, 90); *cch* is replaced by *ś* on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Cchvōḥ śūḍ anunāsikē ca* (6, 4, 19).

This cannot be taken as *prayōjana*; for, even if there is mention of *acaḥ* in the *sūtra,* special effort has to be taken to prevent *tuk* here, since it has a chance to get in through *antaraṅgatva.*

NOTE :—Since the *sūtra* '*Chē ca*' need not wait till *ch* is replaced by *ś*, it is *antaraṅga* with reference to the *sūtra* '*Yajayāca* .. ' (3, 3, 90). That which can operate first is considered *antaraṅga* here.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - द्यूत्वा स्यूत्वा [1], वकारस्य ऊठ् परनिमित्तकः, तस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् अचीति यणादेशो न प्राप्नोति ; अच इति वचनाद्भवति

This, then, is the *prayōjana,* that, the mention of *acaḥ* allows *yaṇādēśa* (between *i* of *div* and *siv* and *ūṭh*), though it may be prevented by the *sthānivadbhāva* of *ūṭh* in *dyūtvā* and *syūtvā*, since *ūṭh* in place of *v* is *paranimittaka.*

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम्, स्वाश्रयमत्राच्त्वं भविष्यति

This too cannot be *prayōjana,* since the *dharma actva* is seen in *ac* and not in the *ādēśa.*

NOTE :—1. The *ādēśa* is technically the *samudāya ūṭh* and not *ū* and hence it has not the *dharma* of *actva* in itself.

NOTE :—2. *Kāiyaṭa* reads here—*Na hi atidēśēna svāśrayā dharmā nivartyantē.*

अथ वा योऽत्रादेशो नासावाश्रीयते, यश्चाश्रीयते नासावादेशः ।

Or that which is *ādēśa* here is not the basis (for *yaṇ*) and that which serves as the basis for it is not *ādēśa.*

NOTE :—The *ādēśa* is *ūṭh* and *yaṇ* takes place on account of *ū* which forms a part of *ūṭh.*

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - आक्राष्टाम् [2] - सिचो लोपः परनिमित्तकः, तस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् 'षढोः कः सि' इति कत्वं प्राप्नोति, अच इति वचनान्न भवति ।

1. The words *dyūtvā* and *syūtvā* are thus derived :—*Div* and *siv* are roots; *v* is replaced by *ūṭh* by the *sūtra* '*Ochvōḥ śūḍ anunāsikē ca* ' (6, 4, 19) before *tvā* and *i* changed to *y* by the *sūtra* '*Ikō yaṇ aci.*'

2. *Ākrāṣṭām* is the third person dual aorist of the root *kṛṣ* with *ā*, *kṛṣ* takes the *āgama am* by the *sūtra* '*Anudāttasya ca ṛdupadhasya anyatarasyām,* (6, 1, 59), *ṛ* takes *yaṇādēśa, a* takes *vṛddhi* by the *sūtra Vadavrajahalantasya acaḥ* (7, 2, 3) and *sic* is dropped.

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that the mention of *acaḥ* prevents the change of *ṣ* to *k* by the *sūtra* '*Ṣaḍhōḥ kaḥ si*' (8, 2, 41) in the word *ākrāṣṭām* through the *sthānivadbhāva* of *sic*, which has elided on account of what follows.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम्, वक्ष्यत्येतत् पूर्वत्रासिद्धे न स्थानिवद् इति

This too is not the *prayōjana*, since he is going to say that there is no chance for *sthānivadbhāva* when a *sūtra* in *pūrvatrāsiddhaprakaraṇa* will have occasion to operate.[1]

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - आगत्य अभिगत्य - अनुनासिकलोपः परनिमित्तकः, तस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् ह्रस्वस्येति तुङ् न प्राप्नोति, अच इति वचनाद्भवति ।

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that the mention of *acaḥ* enables the *sūtra* '*Hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk*' (6, 1, 71) to operate, and it will not operate if the *lōpa* of *m* which depends upon the following *lyap* is allowed to have *sthānivadbhāva*.

NOTE :—From this it is clear that there is need of mention of *acaḥ* in the *sūtra*, so that forms like *āgatya*, *abhigatya* can be safe without being tampered.

II

अथ परस्मिन्निति किमर्थम् ?

What for is the word *parasmin* mentioned in the *sūtra*?

युवजानिः वधूजानिः, द्विपदिका[2], वैयाघ्रपद्यः, आदीध्ये

(So that the following forms may be considered to be in order)—*Yuvajāniḥ*, *vadhūjāniḥ*, *dvipadikā*, *vāiyāghrapadyaḥ*, *ādīdhyē*.

युवजानिः वधूजानिरिति - जायाया निङ् न परनिमित्तकः, तस्य स्थानिवद्भावाद् 'वलि' इति यलोपो न प्राप्नोति । परस्मिन् इति वचनाद्भवति ।

Since the *ādēśa* of *niṅ* enjoined to *jāyā* in the *sūtra* '*Jāyāyā niṅ*' (5, 4, 134) has no reference to what follows, *y* may not be dropped by the *sūtra* '*Lōpō vyōr vali*' (6, 1, 66) through the *sthānivadbhāva* of *niṅ*. Its dropping takes place on account of the mention of *parasmin* in the *sūtra*.

1. This is stated under the *sūtra* '*Upasargasyāyatāu*' (8, 2, 19).
2. There is room to think that *tripadikā* also should be here.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् - स्वाश्रयमत्र वत्त्वं भविष्यति । अथ वा योऽत्रादेशो नासावाश्रीयते, यश्चाश्रीयते नासावादेशः ।

This too cannot be *prayōjana* since *valtva* is in *n*. Or that which is *ādēśa* here does not bring about (*yalōpa*) and that which brings it about is not *ādēśa*.

NOTE :—The *ādēśa* is *niṅ* and *yalōpa* depends upon *n* which forms a part of it.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - द्विपदिका त्रिपदिका - पादस्य लोपो न परनिमित्तकः, तस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् पद्भावो न प्राप्नोति । परस्मिन् इति वचनाद्भवति ।

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that the mention of *parasmin* enables *padbhāva* to appear in *dvipadikā* and *tripadikā*, which would not, otherwise, appear through the *sthānivadbhāva* of the *lōpa* of *pāda* (by the *sūtra* '*Pādaśatasya saṅkhyādēr vīpsāyām vun lōpaśca*' (5, 4, 1) since it is not *paranimittaka*.

NOTE :—*Padbāva* is from the *sūtra* '*Pādaḥ pat*' (6, 4, 130).

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । पुनर्लोपवचनसामर्थ्यात् स्थानिवद्भावो न भविष्यति ।

This too is not the *prayōjana*, since there is no chance for *sthānivadbhāva* on account of the injunction of *lōpa* also in the *sūtra* '*Pādaśatasya...lōpaśca*' (5, 4, 1) though it may be achieved by the *sūtra* '*Yasyēti ca*' (6, 4, 184).

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - वैयाघ्रपद्यः

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that the mention of *parasmin* enables *padbhāva* to appear in *vāiyāghrapadya*, which would not, otherwise, appear through the *sthānivadbhāva* of the *lōpa* of *pāda* by the *sūtra* '*Pādasya lōpōshastyādibhyaḥ*' (5, 4, 138), since it is not *paranimittaka*.

ननु चात्रापि पुनर्वचनसामर्थ्यादेव न भविष्यति

Oh! even here the *sthānivadbhāva* has no chance to appear on account of the injunction of *lōpa* also in the *sūtra* '*Pādasya...* (5, 4, 138).

अस्ति ह्यन्यत् पुनर्लोपवचने प्रयोजनम्

Oh! there is another *prayōjana* for the *vidhi* of *lōpa* too.

किम्? What?

यत्र भसंज्ञा न - व्याघ्रपात् श्येनपात् इति

To have it where there is no *bhasaṁjñā* as in the words *vyāghrapāt, śyēnapāt.*

इदं चाप्युदाहरणम् - आदीध्ये आवेव्ये [1] - इकारस्यैकारो न परनिमित्तकः, तस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् 'यीवर्णयोर्दीधीवेव्योः' इति लोपः प्राप्नोति । परस्मिन् इति वचनान्न भवति ।

This then is the *udāharaṇa* - *ādīdhyē, āvēvyē.* The *ādēśa* of *ē* for *ī* is not *paranimittaka.* Through its *sthānivadbhāva,* there is chance for *ī* to be elided by the *sūtra* '*Yīvarṇayōr dīdhīvēvyōḥ*' (7, 4, 53). But it is prevented by the mention of *parasmin* in the *sūtra.*

III

अथ पूर्वविधाविति किमर्थम् ?

What for is *pūrvavidhāu* in the *sūtra?*

हे गौः, बाभ्रवीयाः, नैधेयः

(So that the following forms may be considered to be in order): —*Hē gāuḥ, bābhravīyāḥ, nāidhēyaḥ.*

हे गौः इत्यौकारः परनिमित्तकः । तस्य स्थानिवद्भावाद् 'एङ् ह्रस्वात्सम्बुद्धेः' इति लोपः प्राप्नोति । पूर्वविधाविति वचनान्न भवति ।

The *āu* in *gāuḥ* (vocative singular) is *paranimittaka* (since it is formed by the *sūtra* '*Gōtō ṇit*' 7, 1, 90) There is chance for *s* after *gāu* to be dropped by the *sūtra* '*Eṅ hrasvāt sambuddhēḥ*' (6, 1, 69) on account of the *sthānivadbhāva* of *āu.* But it does not take place by the mention of *pūrvavidhāu* in the *sūtra.*

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति, न सम्बुद्धिलोपे स्थानिवद्भावो भवति इति, यदयम् 'एङ् ह्रस्वात् सम्बुद्धेः' इत्येङ्ग्रहणं करोति ।

This is not the *prayōjana.* The procedure of *Ācārya Pāṇini* suggests that there is no *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to the elision of the vocative suffix, since he reads *ēṅ* in the *sūtra* '*Eṅ hrasvāt sambuddhēḥ*' (6, 1, 69).

1. *Āvēvyē* may have been a later addition or it should have been mentioned at the beginning.

NOTE :—If there is *sthānivadbhāva*, the object is achieved from *hrasvāt* alone.

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम्, गोऽर्थमेतत् स्यात्

No, it is not *jñāpaka*, since it is intended for *gōsrtham*.

यत्तर्हि प्रत्याहारग्रहणं करोति, इतरथा हि 'ओह्रस्वात्' इत्येव ब्रूयात्

It is *jñāpaka*, since he reads the *pratyāhāra ēṅ* in the *sūtra*; otherwise he would have read the *sūtra* '*Ōhrasvāt*.'

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं - बाभ्रवीयाः माधवीयाः - वान्तादेशः परनिमित्तकः, तस्य स्थानिवद्भावाद् हलस्तद्धितस्य इति यलोपो न प्राप्नोति । पूर्वविधाविति वचनाद्भवति ।

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that the formation of *babhravīyāḥ*, *mādhavīyāḥ* [1] is in order. The *ādēśa* ending in *v* of *ō* in *babhrō* and *madhō* depends upon the following *taddhita pratyaya ya*. Through its *sthānivadbhāva* the *lōpa* of *ya* on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Āpatyasya ca taddhitēsnāti*' (6, 4, 151) after the *sūtra* '*Halas taddhitasya*' cannot take place. But the mention of *pūrvavidhāu* in the *sūtra* enables it to take place.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । स्वाश्रयमत्र हल्त्वं भविष्यति । अथ वा योऽत्रादेशो नासावाश्रीयते, यश्चाश्रीयते नासावादेशः ।

This too cannot be *prayōjana*, since *haltva* is here in *v*. Or that which is *ādēśa* is not taken as the basis for (*yalōpa*) and that which serves as the basis is not *ādēśa*.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - नैधेयः - आकारलोपः परनिमित्तकः, तस्य स्थानिवद्भावाद् द्व्यज्लक्षणो ढग् न प्राप्नोति । पूर्वविधौ इति वचनाद्भवति ।

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that the form *nāidhēya* is in order The *lōpa* of *ākāra* (of the root *dhā* preceded by *ni*) depends. upon the following (*ki pratyaya* by the *sūtra Upasargē gōḥ kiḥ* (3, 3, 92). Through its *sthānivadbhāva*, the *pratyaya ḍhak* which depends upon *dvyac* cannot be used after *nidhi* (by the *sūtra Itaścāniñaḥ* (4, 1, 42). The mention of *pūrvavidhi* helps it to appear.

1. The words *madhu* and *babhru* take *yañ* by the *sūtra* '*Madhubabhrvōr brāhmaṇakāuśikayōḥ*' (4, 1, 106); *u* takes *guṇa* by '*Ōr guṇaḥ*' (6, 4, 146) and *ō* takes the *ādēśa av*, and the forms *mādhavya* and *bābhravya* have come into existence. They take *cha* after them by *Vṛddhācchaḥ* (4, 2, 114) and *ya* of *mādhavya* and *bābhravya* is dropped on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Āpatyasya ca*...(6, 4, 151).

IV

अथ विधिग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What for is the mention of *vidhi* in the *sūtra* ?

सर्वविभक्त्यन्तः समासो यथा विज्ञायेत, पूर्वस्य विधिः पूर्वविधिः, पूर्वस्माद् विधिः पूर्वविधिः इति

So that the compound may be split allowing the former member have different case-relations with the latter thus:—*pūrvasya vidhiḥ* or *pūrvasmād vidhiḥ.*

V

कानि पुनः पूर्वस्माद्विधौ स्थानिवद्भावस्य प्रयोजनानि ?

What are the benefits in admitting *sthānivadbhāva* to the *ādēśa* when a *vidhi* is to operate on that which follows what precedes it ?

बेभिदिता चेच्छिदिता, माथितिकः, अपीपचन् ।

(So that the following forms may be considered to be in order) :—*bēbhiditā, cēcchiditā, māthitikaḥ, apīpacan.*

[1] बेभिदिता चेच्छिदिता इति, अकारलोपे कृते एकाज्लक्षण इट्प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति, स्थानिवद्भावान्न भवति

When *a* (of *bēbhidya, cēcchidya*) in *bēbhiditā, cēcchiditā* is dropped, there is chance for prohibition of *iṭ* by the *sūtra* '*Ēkāca upadēśēsnudāttāt* (7, 2, 10) and it is avoided by *sthānivadbhāva.*

[2] माथितिक इति अकारलोपे कृते, 'तान्तात्कः' इति कादेशः प्राप्नोति । स्थानिवद्भावान्न भवति ।

When *a* (of *mathita*) in *māthitika* is dropped, there is chance for *ṭhak* to be replaced by *ka* by the *sūtra* '*Isusuktāntāt kaḥ*' (7, 3, 51) and it is avoided by *sthānivadbhāva.*

1. *Bhid* and *chid* are roots and *bēbhiditā* and *cēcchiditā* are *tṛjanta* or *luḍanta* after their *yaṅanta*. The *y* and *a* of *bēbhidya* and *cēcchidya* are dropped on the strength of the *sūtras* '*Yasya halaḥ*' (6, 4, 49) and '*Atō lōpaḥ*' (6, 4, 48).

2. *Māthitikaḥ* is derived thus: *mathita+ikaḥ* by the *sūtra* '*Tadasya paṇyam*' (4, 4, 51) and *a* of *mathita* is dropped by *Yasyēti ca* (6, 4, 48).

अपीपचन्[1] इति एकादेशे कृते अभ्यस्तात् झेर्जुस् भवति इति जुस्भावः प्राप्नोति । स्थानिवद्भावान्न भवति ।

When *ēkādēśa* takes place (between *a* of *caṅ*) and *a* of *an* (the *ādēśa* of *jhi*) in the word *apīpacan*, there is chance for *jhi* to be replaced by *jus* by the *sūtra* '*Sijabhyastavidibhyaśca*' (3, 4, 109), which follows the *sūtra* '*Jhērjus*'.

नैतानि सन्ति प्रयोजनानि These are not the *prayōjanas*.

[2] कुतः? Why?

प्रातिपदिकनिर्देशोऽयम् । प्रातिपदिकनिर्देशाश्च अर्थतन्त्रा भवन्ति, न काञ्चित् प्राधान्येन विभक्तिमाश्रयन्ति । तत्र प्रातिपदिकार्थे निर्दिष्टे यां यां विभक्तिमाश्रयितुं बुद्धिरुपजायते, सा साश्रयितव्या[3] ॥

It is only the stem that is intended here. The case-suffix after it isdependent upon the meaning and hence the stem does not take any particular case-suffix after it. When its meaning is mentioned, such case-suffixe as suits it is used.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं, विधिमात्रे स्थानिवद्भावो यथा स्यात्, अनाश्रीयमाणायामपि प्रकृतौ - वाय्वोः अध्वर्य्वोः - 'लोपो व्योर्वलि' इति यलोपो मा भूद् इति

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that there is *sthānivadbhāva* only when something is enjoined to that which precedes it bearing upon the *ādēśa*, and not upon the *sthānin*, so that *y* is not elided in *vāyōḥ*, *adhvaryvōḥ* on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Lōpō vyōr vali*' (6, 1, 66).

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत्? Is this to be considered *prayōjana* ?

किं तर्हीति? What then?

1. *Apīpacan* is the third person plural, (causal aorist of the root *pac*. The augment is by the *sūtra* '*Luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣu aḍ udāttaḥ*' (6, 4, 71), the reduplication by *Caṅi* (6, 1, 11), *caṅ* by *Niśridrubhyaḥ kartari caṅ* (3, 1, 48), the *ṇilōpa* by *Ṇēr aniṭi* (6, 4, 51), the *ēkādēśa* of *a* of *caṅ* and *a* of *an* by '*Atō guṇē*' (6, 1, 97) and the *lōpa* of *i* of *jhi* is by '*Itaśca*' (3, 4, 100).

2. कुतः is not found in Bombay Edition.

3. Cf. p. 81.

VI

अपरविधाविति तु *Aparavidhāu* too.

अपरविधौ इति तु वक्तव्यम्

There is need to mention *aparavidhāu* too.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

स्वविधावपि स्थानिवद्भावो यथा स्यात्

So that *sthānivadbhāva* may be taken recourse to in *svavidhi* too.

NOTE:—The word *sva* here denotes the *ādēśa* that has replaced *sthānin.*

कानि पुनः स्वविधौ स्थानिवद्भावस्य प्रयोजनानि?

What are the benefits reaped from admitting *sthānivadbhāva* to *ādēśa,* if some *kārya* is enjoined to itself?

आयन् आसन्, धिन्वन्ति कृण्वन्ति, दध्यत्र मध्वत्र, चक्रतुः चक्रुः ।

(So that the following forms may be considered to be in order):—*Āyan, āsan; dhinvanti, kr̥ṇvanti; dadhyatra, madhvatra; cakratuḥ, cakruḥ.*

इह तावद् आयन् आसन् इति, इणस्त्योर्यण्लोपयोः कृतयोः अनजादित्वाद् आडजादीनाम् इति आण् न प्राप्नोति । स्थानिवद्भावाद्भवति ।

Firstly here in *āyan* and *āsan* (the imperfect third person plural of the roots *i* and *as*) where *i* takes *yaṇādēśa* and *as* loses its *a* before *an*, there is no chance for *āḍāgama* (since *yaṇ* and *san* do not commence in a vowel.) 'It is secured thro' *sthānivadbhāva.*

धिन्वन्ति कृण्वन्ति इति - यणादेशे कृते वलादिलक्षण इट् प्राप्नोति । स्थानिवद्भावान्न भवति ।

In *dhinvanti* and *kr̥ṇvanti* where *u* of *nu* takes *yaṇādēśa,* there is chance for *iḍāgama* before *v.* But it does not appear on account of the *sthānivadbhāva* of *v.*

दध्यत्र मध्वत्र इति, यणादेशे कृते संयोगान्तस्य लोपः प्राप्नोति । स्थानिवद्भावान्न भवति ।

In *dadhyatra* and *madhvatra* where *i* and *u* have taken the *ādēśa y* and *v,* there is chance for the elision of *y* and *v* through

'*Saṁyōgāntasya lōpaḥ*' (8, 2, 23) and it does not take place on account of *sthānivadbhāva*.

चक्रतुः चक्रुः इति, यणादेशे कृते अनच्कत्वाद्[1] द्विर्वचनं न प्राप्नोति। स्थानिवद्भावाद्भवति।

In *cakratuḥ* and *cakruḥ* where *ṛ* has taken *yaṇādēśa*, there is no chance for the reduplication of *kṛ* since *a* after *r* is not a *liṭ* termination (though it is a part of *atus*) and it happens through *sthānivadbhāva*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that, if this is admitted, there is no need for the *sūtra* '*Dvirvacanēsci*' (1, 1, 59).

यदि तर्हि स्वविधावपि स्थानिवद्भावो भवति - द्वाभ्यां, देयं, लवनम् - अत्रापि प्राप्नोति।

If, then, *sthānivadbhāva* is admitted in *svavidhi* too, it may chance to happen even here-in *dvābhyām, dēyam* and *lavanam*.

द्वाभ्याम् इत्यत्र अत्वस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् दीर्घत्वं न प्राप्नोति।

In *dvābhyām*, the lengthening may not happen through the *sthānivadbhāva* of a.

NOTE :—*I* of *dvi* is changed to *a* by the *sūtra* '*Tyadādīnām*' *aḥ* (7, 1, 102).

देयम् इति ईत्वस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् गुणो न प्राप्नोति।

In *dēyam* (*dā* + *ya*), there will be no chance for *guṇa*, if *ī* takes *sthānivadbhāva*.

NOTE :—*Ā* of the root *dā* is changed to *ī* by the *sūtra Īd yati* (6, 4, 65) and *ī* takes *guṇa* by '*Sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayōḥ*' (7, 3, 84).

लवनम् इत्यत्र गुणस्य स्थानिवद्भावाद् अवादेशो न प्राप्नोति

In *lavanam* (*lū*+*ana*), there will be no *avādēśa*, if the *guṇa* (*ō*) takes *sthānivadbhāva*.

नैष दोषः, स्वाश्रया अत्रैते विधयो भविष्यन्ति

This *dōṣa* does not arise, since the *vidhis* here refer to the *kārya* of that which is dependent upon the *ādēśa*.

तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् अपरविधाविति

Then there is need to read *aparavidhāu*.

1. Benares Edition reads अनण्त्वात्

न वक्तव्यं, पूर्वविधावित्येव सिद्धम्

No, it need not be read, since the object is achieved through *pūrvavidhāu* itself.

कथम्? How?

न पूर्वग्रहणेनादेशोऽभिसम्बध्यते - अजादेशः परनिमित्तकः पूर्वस्य विधिं प्रति स्थानिवद्भवति ।

The word *pūrva* is not taken in relation to *ādēśa* thus—The *ajādēśa* which is *paranimittaka* takes its *sthānivadbhāva* when a *vidhi* with reference to what precedes takes place.

कुतः पूर्वस्य? Of whose precedent?

आदेशाद् इति Of the *ādēśa*.

किं तर्हि? How else then?

निमित्तमभिसम्बध्यते - अजादेशः परनिमित्तकः पूर्वस्य विधिं प्रति स्थानिवद्भवति ।

It is taken in relation to *nimitta* thus:—The *ajādēśa* which is *paranimittaka* takes its *sthānivadbhāva* when a *vidhi* with reference to what precedes takes place.

कुतः पूर्वस्य? Of whose precedent?

निमित्ताद् इति Of the *nimitta*.

अथ निमित्तेऽभिसम्बध्यमाने यत्तदस्य योगस्य मूर्धाभिषिक्तमुदाहरणं तदपि सङ्गृहीतं भवति?

If it is taken in relation to *nimitta*, can the *udāharaṇa* unanimously adopted by all the scholars under this *sūtra* stand?

किं पुनस्तत्? What is it?

पट्व्या मृद्व्या इति The words *paṭvyā*, *mṛdvyā*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads, '*Paṭu ī ā iti sthitē parayaṇādēśēna ākārasya vyavadhānāt praśnaḥ.*'

बाढं सङ्गृहीतम् Certainly it can stand.

ननु च ईकारयणा व्यवहितत्वान्नासौ निमित्तात् पूर्वो भवति?

Oh! does it not fail to precede the *nimitta*, since it is intercepted by *yaṇ*, the *ādēśa* of *ī*?

व्यवहितेऽपि पूर्वशब्दो वर्तते - तद्यथा पूर्वं मथुरायाः पाटलिपुत्रम् इति

The word *pūrva* is used even if there is interception, as in the sentence *Pāṭaliputra* is *pūrva* to *Mathurā*.

अथ वा पुनरस्तु आदेश एवाभिसम्बध्यते

Or let it be taken to be in relation to *ādēśa* itself.

कथं यानि स्वविधौ स्थानिवद्भावस्य प्रयोजनानि ?

How are the benefits which have been mentioned to be derived from the *sthānivadbhāva* in *svavidhi*, to be secured ?

नैतानि सन्ति These are not the *prayōjanas*.

इह तावद् आयन् आसन् धिन्वन्ति कृण्वन्ति इति, अयं विधिशब्दोऽस्त्येव कर्मसाधनो - विधीयते विधिरिति ; अस्ति च भावसाधनः— विधानं विधिरिति ; तत्र कर्मसाधनस्य विधिशब्दस्योपादाने न सर्वमिष्टं सङ्गृहीतमिति कृत्वा भावसाधनस्य विधिशब्दस्योपादानं विज्ञास्यते - पूर्वस्य विधानं प्रति पूर्वस्य भावं प्रति । पूर्वः स्यादिति स्थानिवद्भवतीति । एवमाड् भविष्यति, इट् च न भविष्यति ।

Now firstly with reference to *āyan*, *āsan*, *dhinvanti*, *kṛṇvanti*, this word *vidhi* is derived by adding the *kṛt* suffix *i* denoting *karma* to the root *dhā* preceded by the *upasarga vi*, so that it means *that which is enjoined* ; it is also derived by adding the same suffix to the same root to denote *bhāva*, so that it means *the state of existing*. Feeling that all that are desired are not covered if the word *vidhi* is taken as *karmasādhana*, it is taken as *bhāvasādhana* also. Then '*Pūrvasya vidhānam prati*' will mean '*Pūrvasya bhāvam prati*'. So the *ādēśa* becomes *sthānivad* if anything precedes it. Hence there is *āḍādēśa* (in *āyan* and *āsan*) and the absence of *iḍāgama* (in *dhinvanti*, *kṛṇvanti*).

दध्यत्र मध्वत्र चक्रतुः चक्रुः इति परिहारं वक्ष्यति -

Ācārya meets with the objection regarding *dadhyatra*, *madhvatra*, *cakratuḥ and cakruḥ* later on,

NOTE :—The objection with reference to *dadhyatra* and *madhvatra* is met with by *Vārttikakāra* in his *vārttika* '*Saṁyōgāntasya lōpē yaṇaḥ pratiṣēdhaḥ*' under the *sūtra*

Saṁyōgāntasya lōpaḥ (8, 2, 23). *Cakratuḥ* and *cakruḥ* are said to be the *prayōjanas* by *Mahābhāṣyakāra* under the *sūtra Dvirvacanēsci* (1, 1, 59)

VII

कानि पुनरस्य योगस्य प्रयोजनानि ?

What, then, are the benefits of this *sūtra* ?

स्तोष्याम्यहं पादिकमौदवाहिं ततः श्वोभूते शातनीं पातनीं च ।

नेतारावागच्छतं धारणिं रावणिं च ततः पश्चात् स्रंस्यते ध्वंस्यते च ॥

Oh ! *Śvōbhūti*, I'll tell you—*pādikam, āudavāhim*, and then, *śātanīm* and *pātanīm*; oh! the two leaders come here—*dhāraṇim, rāvaṇim* and then *sraṁsyatē* and *dhvaṁsyatē*.

इह तावत् पादिकमौदवाहिं शातनीं पातनीं धारणिं रावणिमिति, अकारलोपे कृते पद्भाव ऊठ्लोपष्टिलोप इत्येते विधयः प्राप्नुवन्ति; स्थानिवद्भावान्न भवन्ति। स्रंस्यते ध्वंस्यते - णिलोपे कृते 'अनिदितां हल उपधायाः क्ङिति' इति नलोपः प्राप्नोति; स्थानिवद्भावान्न भवति ।

Firstly here, after the elision of *a* in *pādikam, āudavāhim, śātanīm, pātanīm, dhāraṇim* and *rāvaṇim*, there is chance for the *sūtras* enjoining *padbhāva* (in *pādikam*), *ūṭh* (in *āudavāhim*), elision of *a* (in *śātanīm* and *pātanīm*) and elision of the final syllable (in *dhāraṇim* and *rāvaṇim*) to operate and they do not do so on account of *sthānivadbhāva*. After *ṇic* is elided in the verbs *sraṁsyatē* and *dhvaṁsyatē*, there is chance for the elision of *n* by the *sūtra* '*Aniditām hala upadhāyāḥ kṅiti*' (6, 4, 24). and it is avoided by *sthānivadbhāva*.

नैतानि सन्ति प्रयोजनानि । असिद्धवदत्राभाद् इत्यनेनाप्येतानि सिद्धानि ।

These need not be considered as *prayōjanas*, since they are secured by the *sūtra* '*Asiddhavad atrābhāt*' (6, 4, 22)

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं याज्यते वाप्यते । णिलोपे कृते 'यजादीनां किति' इति सम्प्रसारणं प्राप्नोति । स्थानिवद्भावान्न भवति ।

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that, after *ṇic* is elided in *yāiyatē* and *vāpyatē*, there is chance for the initial *y* and *v* to take

samprasāraṇa (since each is followed by *yak*) by the *sūtra* '*Vacisvapiyajādīnām kiti*' (6, 1, 15) and *sthānivadbhāva* prevents it.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । यजादिभिरत्र कितं विशेषयिष्यामः - यजादीनां यः किदिति

This too is not the *prayōjana,* since we make *yajādi* qualify *kit* thus :—the *kit* of *yajādi*.

कश्च यजादीनां कित् ? What is meant by *yajādīnām kit*?

यजादिभ्यो यो विहित इति That which is enjoined to *yajādi*.

न चायं यजादिभ्यो विहितः This (*yak*)is not enjoined to *yaj*.

NOTE :—In the above forms *yak* is enjoined to *ṇijanta* by the *sūtra* '*Sārvadhātukē yak*' (3, 1, 67).

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं पट्व्या मृद्व्या इति । परस्य यणादेशे कृते पूर्वस्य न प्राप्नोति, ईकारयणा व्यवहितत्वात् । स्थानिवद्भावाद्भवति ।

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that, if in *paṭu ī ā, mṛdu ī ā, ī* which is *para* takes *yaṇādēśa, u* cannot take *yaṇādēśa* since the *yaṇ* of *ī* stands between *u* and *ā* and that the *sthānivadbhāva* helps to secure it.

किं पुनः कारणं परस्य तावद्भवति न पुनः पूर्वस्य ?

Why is it that *yaṇādēśa* first operates with reference to *ī* which is *para* and not to *u* which is *pūrva* ?

नित्यत्वात् । नित्यः परयणादेशः - कृतेऽपि पूर्वयणादेशे प्राप्नोति अकृतेऽपि प्राप्नोति ।

Since it is *nitya*. *Parayaṇādēśa* is *nitya,* since it operates whether *pūrvayaṇādēśa* has operated earlier or not.

नित्यत्वात् परयणादेशे कृते पूर्वस्य न प्राप्नोति । स्थानिवद्भावाद्भवति ।

If *parayaṇādēśa* first operates since it is *nitya, pūrvayaṇādēśa* has no chance to operate. *Sthānivadbhāva* helps it.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । असिद्धं बहिरङ्गलक्षणमन्तरङ्गलक्षणे इत्यसिद्धत्वाद् बहिरङ्गलक्षणस्य परयणादेशस्य अन्तरङ्गलक्षणः पूर्वयणादेशो भविष्यति । अवश्यं चैषा

परिभाषा आश्रयितव्या स्वरार्थम् - कर्त्र्या हर्त्र्या 'उदात्तयणो हल्पूर्वात्' इत्येष स्वरो यथा स्यात् ।

This, too, is not the *prayōjana*, since *pūrvayaṇādēśa* which is *antaraṅga* operates before *parayaṇādēśa* which is *bahiraṅga* on the strength of the *paribhāṣā* '*Asiddham bahiraṅgalakṣaṇam antaraṅgalakṣaṇē*'. This *paribhāṣā* is necessarily to be adopted with reference to *svara* in the words *kartryā* and *hartryā*, where the case-suffix *ā* has to take *udāttasvara* by the *sūtra* '*Udāttayaṇō halpūrvāt* (6, 1, 174).

NOTE :—1. In *paṭu ī ā* the case-suffix *ā* has a chance to operate only after the *prātipadika* formed by the combination of *paṭu* and *ī* assumes the form *paṭvī* and hence *pūrvayaṇādēśa* is *antaraṅga* with reference to *parayaṇādēśa*.

NOTE :— 2. In *kartryā*, *ā* is enjoined to be *udātta* only if it follows *yaṇ* which has replaced an *udātta* vowel. Hence *pūrvayaṇādēśa* has to take place anterior to *parayaṇādēśa*.

अनेनापि सिद्धः स्वरः The *svara* is secured by this (*sūtra*) too.

कथम्? How?

आरभ्यमाणे नित्योऽसौ

This having been read, it is *nitya*.

आरभ्यमाणे त्वस्मिन्योगे नित्यः पूर्वयणादेशः । कृतेऽपि परयणादेशे प्राप्नोति, अकृतेपि ।

When this *sūtra* is read, *pūrvayaṇādēśa* becomes *nitya* and it operates whether *parayaṇādēśa* has operated before it or not.

परयणादेशोऽपि नित्यः, कृतेऽपि पूर्वयणादेशे प्राप्नोति अकृतेऽपि

Parayaṇādēśa, too, is *nitya*, since it operates whether *pūrvayaṇādēśa* has operated before it or not.

परश्चासौ व्यवस्थया It is *para* through relative position.

व्यवस्थया चासौ परः

Through relative position is it taken to be *para*.

युगपत्सम्भवो नास्ति There is no simultaneous operation.

न चास्ति यौगपद्येन सम्भवः They cannot operate simultaneously.

कथं च सिध्यति? How is the desired object achieved?

बहिरङ्गेण सिध्यति

The object is achieved through *bahiraṅgaparibhāṣā.*

असिद्धं बहिरङ्गलक्षणमन्तरङ्गलक्षणे इत्यनेन सिध्यति ।

The object is achieved on the strength of the dictum '*Asiddham bahiraṅgalakṣaṇam antaraṅgalakṣaṇē.*'

एवं तर्हि योऽत्र उदात्तयण् तदाश्रयः स्वरो भविष्यति

If so, the *svara* depending upon that of the *udāttayaṇ* is necessarily secured.

NOTE :—1. The four *vārttikas* seem to form the limbs of a *ślōkavārttika.*

NOTE :—2. This attempt is on the basis of not accepting the *bahiraṅgaparibhāṣā.*

ईकारयणा व्यवहितत्वाद् न प्राप्नोति

No, it has no chance since it is intercepted by the *yaṇ* which has replaced *ī.*

स्वरविधौ व्यञ्जनमविद्यमानवद्भवति इति नास्ति व्यवधानम्

There is no interception, since, with reference to accent, consonants are not taken cognisance of on the strength of the *paribhāṣā Svaravidhāu vyañjanam avidyamānavat.*

सा तर्हि परिभाषा कर्तव्या

If so, there is need to resort to that *paribhāṣā.*

ननु चेयमपि कर्तव्या - असिद्धं बहिरङ्गलक्षणमन्तरङ्गलक्षणे इति?

Oh is it not that this *paribhāṣā* too '*Asiddham bahiraṅgalakṣaṇam antaraṅgalakṣaṇē*' to be resorted to?

बहुप्रयोजनैषा परिभाषा, अवश्यमेवैषा कर्तव्या ।

This *paribhāṣā* is of manifold benefits and certainly is it to be resorted to

सा चाप्येषा लोकतः सिद्धा

This (the operation of this *paribhāṣā*) is supported from what is seen in the world too.

कथम्? How?

[1] प्रत्यङ्गवर्ती लोको लक्ष्यते

Object in the world which is subjected to a large number of operations is seen thus :-first it is operated upon with reference to the closest limb, then with one a little more remote, then with one remoter than the second and so on.

तद्यथा - पुरुषोऽयं प्रातरुत्थाय यान्यस्य प्रतिशरीरं कार्याणि तानि तावत् करोति, ततः सुहृदां, ततः सम्बन्धिनाम्

It may be illustrated as follows :-Man, after getting up from his bed, first attends to the actions pertaining to himself, then to those of his friends and then to those who are connected with him.

प्रातिपदिकं चाप्युपदिष्टं सामान्यभूतेऽर्थे वर्तते; सामान्ये वर्तमानस्य व्यक्तिरुपजायते। व्यक्तस्य सतो लिङ्गसङ्ख्याभ्यामन्वितस्य बाह्येनार्थेन योगो भवति। यथैव चानुपूर्व्या अर्थानां प्रादुर्भावस्तथैव शब्दानामपि। तद्वत्कार्यैरपि भवितव्यम्।

Stem too, as soon as it is mentioned, produces in the mind of the hearer the idea of the genus, and then the individuality, and it in its turn comes in association with gender and number, so that it becomes connected with external object. The order of procedure in words is the same as is found in objects. Similar should be the operations on them.

इमानि तर्हि प्रयोजनानि - पटयति, लघयति, अवधीत्, बहुखट्वकः

These then are the *prayōjanas—paṭayati, laghayati, avadhīt,* and *bahukhaṭvakaḥ*.

पटयति लघयति इति - णिचि टिलोपे कृते, 'अत उपधायाः' इति वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति। स्थानिवद्भावान्न भवति

After the elision of the final syllable when the roots *paṭa* and *lagha* are followed by *ṇic*, there is chance for *upadhāvṛddhi* on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Ata upadhāyāḥ*' (7, 2, 116) in *paṭayati* and *laghayati* and *sthānivadbhāva* prevents it.

1. *Kāiyaṭa* reads:—*Pratyāsannavācī pratyaṅgaśabdaḥ. Aṅgaśabdēna pratyāsattir lakṣyatē.*

अवधीत् इति - अकारलोपे कृते 'अतो हलादेर्लघोः' इति विभाषा वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति । स्थानिवद्भावान्न भवति ।
After the elision of *a* in *vadha* of *avadhīt*, there is chance for the optional *vṛddhi* of *a* of *vadh* by the *sūtra* '*Atō halādēr laghōḥ*' (7, 2, 7) and it is prevented by *sthānivadbhāva*.

बहुखट्वक इति - 'आपोऽन्यतरस्याम्' इति ह्रस्वत्वे[1] कृते 'ह्रस्वान्तेऽन्त्यात्पूर्वम्' इत्येष स्वरः प्राप्नोति । स्थानिवद्भावाद् न भवति ।
After the optional shortening of *ā* in *khaṭvā* of *bahukhaṭvakaḥ* by the *sūtra* '*Āpōsnyatarasyām* (7, 4, 15), there is chance for *a* after *v* to become *udātta* by the *sūtra* '*Hrasvāntēsntyāt pūrvam*' (6, 2, 174) and it is prevented by *sthānivadbhāva*.

VIII

इह वैयाकरणः, सौवश्व इति य्वोः स्थानिवद्भावाद् आयावौ प्राप्नुतः, तयोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः
There is chance for *āi* and *āu* in *vāiyākaraṇaḥ* and *Sāuvaśvaḥ* to get the *ādēśas āy* and *āv* through the *sthānivadbhāva* of *y* and *v* and there is need to prohibit it.

NOTE:—The *pratyaya aṇ* is enjoined after the word *vyākaraṇa* by the *sūtra* '*Tad adhītē tad vēda*' (4, 2, 59) and the *pratyaya aṇ* after *Svaśva*, in the meaning of *apatya*. The *āgamas āi* and *āu* respectively come before *y* of *vyākaraṇa* and *v* of *Svaśva* by the *sūtra* '*Na yvābhyām padāntābhyām pūrvāu tu tābhyām āic*' (7, 3, 3)

अचः पूर्वविज्ञानादैचोः सिद्धम्
The object is achieved with reference to *āic* on account of the *sthānivadbhāva* to *ac* before it takes *ādēśa*.

योऽनादिष्टादचः पूर्वस्तस्य विधिं प्रति स्थानिवद्भावः । आदिष्टाच्चैषोऽचः पूर्वः
Sthānivadbhāva takes place only with reference to a *vidhi* to one preceding an *ac* which has not already been replaced by an *ādēśa*, but which is on the point of being replaced by the *ādēśa*. This is a case where it has already been replaced by the *ādēśa*.

1. Bombay Edition reads ह्रस्वे

किं वक्तव्यमेतत्? Is this to be stated?

न हि No, it need not.

कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते

How is it to be understood if it is not stated?

अचः इति पञ्चमी; अचः पूर्वस्य

The word *acaḥ* is taken to be the fifth case, so that it may be understood in the sense 'to that which precedes the vowel.'

यद्येवमादेशोऽविशेषितो भवति

If so, there is nothing to qualify *ādēśa*.

NOTE:—In that case the *ādēśa* of *hal* too may take *sthānivadbhāva*.

आदेशश्च विशेषितः *Ādēśa* too has a qualifying word.

कथम्? How?

न ब्रूमः, यत् षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टमज्ग्रहणं तत्पञ्चमीनिर्दिष्टं कर्तव्यम् इति

We do not say that the word *acaḥ* which is in the sixth case should be taken to be in the fifth case.

किं तर्हि अन्यत् कर्तव्यम्? Is then another to be read?

अन्यच्च न कर्तव्यम् । यदेवादः षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टमज्ग्रहणं तस्य दिक्शब्दैर्योगे पञ्चमी भवति [1] - अजादेशः परनिमित्तकः पूर्वस्य विधिं प्रति स्थानिवद्भवति ।

No, there is no need to read another. The word *acaḥ* which is in the sixth case is taken to be in the fifth case if it comes in association with words denoting direction. (Hence the *sūtra* means) that the *ajādēśa* which is *paranimittaka* takes *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to a *vidhi* pertaining to that which precedes.

कुतः पूर्वस्य? Preceding which?

अच इति । तद्यथा - आदेशः प्रथमानिर्दिष्टः, तस्य दिक्शब्दैर्योगे पञ्चमी भवति [1] - अजादेशः परनिमित्तकः पूर्वस्य विधिं प्रति स्थानिवद्भवति । कुतः पूर्वस्य आदेशादिति ।

1. Bombay Edition reads भविष्यति

Preceding *ac*. It is explained thus :-The *ādēśa* mentioned in the first case takes the fifth case when it is in association with words denoting direction. The *ajādēśa* which is *paranimittaka* takes *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to a *vidhi* pertaining to what precedes it. *Ādēśāt* is the answer to the question 'Preceding which?'

NOTE.—There is no difficulty in the word *vāiyākaraṇa* and *Sāuvaśva*, since *v* and *s* which precede *y* and *v* are not taken to be *nimitta* to the *āgamas* *āi* and *āu*. *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* says that some feel that there is no *sthānivadbhāva* there on account of the injunction about the *āgamas* *āi* and *āu*.

तत्रादेशलक्षणप्रतिषेधः

Prohibition of the operation of *vidhis* to *ādēśa*.

तत्रादेशलक्षणं कार्यं प्राप्नोति, तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - वाय्वोः, अध्वर्य्वोः - 'लोपो व्योर्वलि' इति लोपः प्राप्नोति

The *kārya* pertaining to the *ādēśa* may chance to set in there and it has to be prohibited. For instance there is a chance for the elision (of *y*) in the words *vāyvōḥ* and *adhvaryvōḥ* by the *sūtra* '*Lōpō vyōr vali*' (6, 1, 66).

असिद्धवचनात् सिद्धम्

It is accomplished by declaring *ādēśa* to be *asiddha*.

अजादेशः परनिमित्तकः पूर्वस्य विधिं प्रत्यसिद्धो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

There is need to declare that the *ajādēśa* which is *paranimitta* is *asiddha* with reference to a *pūrvavidhi*.

असिद्धवचनात् सिद्धमिति चेदुत्सर्गलक्षणानामनुदेशः

If it is said that the object is achieved by declaring it to be *asiddha*, mention has to be made where it is *siddha*.

असिद्धवचनात् सिद्धमिति चेद् उत्सर्गलक्षणानामनुदेशः कर्तव्यः पट्व्या, मृद्व्या इति

If it is said that the object is achieved by declaring it to be *asiddha*, there is need to declare the *atidēśa* of the *kāryas* pertaining to *sthānin* to secure the forms *paṭvyā* and *mṛdvyā*.

ननु चैतदप्यसिद्धवचनात् सिद्धम्

Oh! this too is accomplished by declaring it *asiddha*.

असिद्धवचनात् सिद्धमिति चेन्न अन्यस्यासिद्धवचनादन्यस्य भावः

No, it cannot be said that the other is *siddha* by mentioning one *asiddha*. The existence of one (cannot be established) through the *asiddhatva* of another.

असिद्धवचनात् सिद्धमिति चेत् तन्न

If it is said that it is accomplished through *asiddhavacana*, it is not.

किं कारणम्? Why?

नान्यस्यासिद्धवचनाद् अन्यस्य भावः। न ह्यन्यस्य असिद्धत्वादन्यस्य प्रादुर्भावो भवति। तद्यथा - न हि देवदत्तस्य हन्तरि हते देवदत्तस्य प्रादुर्भावो भवति।

The existence of one is not secured through the *asiddhatva* of another. For one does not come into existence when another is declared *asiddha*. This may be illustrated thus:—*Dēvadatta* does not come back to life if one who killed him is killed.

तस्मात्स्थानिवद्वचनम् Hence is the mention of *sthānivattva*.

तस्मात् स्थानिवद्भावो वक्तव्यः

Hence there is need to mention *sthānivadbhāva*.

असिद्धत्वं च *Asiddhatva* too.

असिद्धत्वं च वक्तव्यम् *Asiddhatva* too need be mentioned.

पट्व्या मृद्व्या इति स्थानिवद्भावः। वाय्वोः अध्वर्य्वोः इत्यत्रासिद्धत्वम्।

Need of *sthānivadbhāva* to arrive at the forms *paṭvyā* and *mṛdvyā* and *asiddhatva* to arrive at *vāyvōḥ* and *adhvaryvōḥ*.

उक्तं वा It has been answered.

किमुक्तम्? How has it been answered?

स्थानिवद्वचनानर्थक्यं शास्त्रासिद्धत्वाद् इति

The non-need of *sthānivadvacana* by admitting *śāstrāsiddhatva*.

विषम उपन्यासः। युक्तं तत्र यदेकादेशशास्त्रं तुक्शास्त्रे असिद्धं स्याद् अन्यदन्यस्मिन्। इह पुनरयुक्तम्। कथं हि तदेव नाम तस्मिन्नसिद्धं स्यात्?

The reasoning is not sound. It is but proper that *ēkādēśaśāstra* is considered *asiddha* with reference to *tukśāstra* (by the *sūtra Ṣatvatukōr asiddaḥ* (6, 1, 86) since one is different from another. But it is unsound here. How can one *śāstra* be considered *asiddha* with reference to the same?

तदेव चापि तस्मिन्नसिद्धं भवति । वक्ष्यति ह्याचार्यः 'चिणो लुकि तग्रहणानर्थक्यं, सङ्घातस्याप्रत्ययत्वात्तलोपस्य चासिद्धत्वात्' इति । चिणो लुक् चिणो लुक्येवासिद्धो भवति ।

The same *śāstra*, too, is considered *asiddha* with reference to itself. For *Ācārya* (*Vārttikakāra*) is going to say, (under the *sūtra* '*Ciṇō luk*' (6, 1, 104) the *vārttika* '*Ciṇō luki tagrahaṇānarthakyam, saṅghātasya apratyayatvāt talōpasya ca asiddhatvāt*. The *śāstra* '*Ciṇō luk*' is considered *asiddha* with reference to itself.

NOTE :—*Ta* after *āpyāyi*, the aorist third person singular of the root *pyāyī*, is dropped, but not in *apyāyitarām*.

काममतिदिश्यतां वा सच्चासच्चापि नेह भारोऽस्ति ।
कल्प्यो हि वाक्यशेषो वाक्यं वक्त्रधीनं हि ॥

Let the *atidēśa* be made at will; there is no difficulty here, since it may be or may not be; the ellipsis in the sentence has to be filled up ; for the sentence depends upon the speaker for its content.

अथवा वतिनिर्देशोऽयम् । कामचारश्च वतिनिर्देशे वाक्यशेषं समर्थयितुम् । तद्यथा 'उशीनरवन्मद्रेषु यवाः'; सन्ति, न सन्ति इति । मातृवदस्याः कलाः; सन्ति, न सन्ति इति । एवमिहापि स्थानिवद्भवति, स्थानिवन्न भवति इति वाक्यशेषं समर्थयिष्यामहे । इह तावत् पट्व्या मृद्व्या इति यथा स्थानिनि यणादेशो भवति, एवमादेशेऽपि भवति । इहेदानीं वाय्वोः अध्वर्य्वोः इति, यथा स्थानिनि यलोपो न भवति एवमादेशेऽपि न भवति ।

Or here is the mention of the particle *vat* ; wherever it is, it is possible to complete the sentence at our will and pleasure. For instance the sentence '*Uśīnaravad madrēṣu yavāḥ*' may be completed by the expression *santi* or *na santi* and the

sentence '*mātṛvad asyāḥ kalāḥ*' may be completed (in the same way) by the expression *santi* or *na santi*. So also we may complete the sentence here too by the expression *bhavati* or *na bhavati*, so that it may read *sthānivad bhavati* or *sthānivad na bhavati*. Firstly here in *paṭvyā* and *mṛdvyā* there is *yaṇādēśa* in *ādēśa* in the same way as it is in the *sthānin* and here, then, in *vāyōḥ* and *adhvaryvōḥ*, there is no *yalōpa* in *ādēśa* in the same way as it is not in the *sthānin*.

IX

किं पुनरनन्तरस्य विधिं प्रति स्थानिवद्भावः, आहोस्वित् पूर्वमात्रस्य ?

Is there *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to a *vidhi* to one which immediately precedes or to one which precedes, though not immediately ?

कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

What difference will there be, if it is one or the other ?

अनन्तरस्य चेदेकाननुदात्तद्विगुस्वरगतिनिघातेषूपसङ्ख्यानम्

If it is with reference to *anantara*, there is need for it in the additional cases of *ēkānanudātta, dvigusvara* and *gatinighāta*.

अनन्तरस्येति चेदेकाननुदात्तद्विगुस्वरगतिनिघातेषु उपसङ्ख्यानम् ।

If it is with reference to a *vidhi* to that which immediately precedes, there is need for taking it in the additional cases of *ēkānanudātta, dvigusvara* and *gatinighāta*.

एकाननुदात्त - लुनीह्यत्र, पुनीह्यत्र - अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम् इत्येष स्वरो न प्राप्नोति ।

Ekānanudātta. The *anudātta* enjoined to all the syllables other than the *udātta* syllable in a word enjoined by the *sūtra* '*Anudāttam padam ēkavarjam*' does not take place in the expressions *lunīhyatra* and *punīhyatra*.

NOTE :—*Hi* in *lunīhi* and *punīhi* is *udātta ;* consequently *u* and *ī* are *anudāttas* ; when *i* takes *yaṇādēśa*, there is no *udātta* syllable in the words *lunīhi* and *punīhi* and hence *u* and *ī* cannot become *anudātta*. In order that they become *anudātta*, *sthānivadbhāva* of *y* must be admitted.

द्विगुस्वर - पञ्चारत्न्यः दशारत्न्यः - 'इगन्तकाल ....' इत्येष स्वरो न प्राप्नोति ।

Dvigusvara. The *pūrvapadaprakṛtisvaratva* enjoined by the *sūtra* '*Igantakālakapāla - bhagāla - śarāvēṣu dvigāu* (6, 2, 29) does not take place in the words *pañcāratnyaḥ* and *daśāratnyaḥ* (since they are not *iganta* on account of *yaṇādēśa*).

गतिनिघात - प्रलुनीह्यत्र, प्रपुनीह्यत्र - 'तिङि चोदात्तवति' इत्येष स्वरो न प्राप्नोति ।

Gatinighāta — The *anudāttatva* of *pra* in *pralunīhyatra* and *prapunīhyatra* (which has *gatisaṁjñā*) enjoined by the *sūtra* '*Tiṅi cōdāttavati*' (8, 1, 71) does not take place (since the *tiṅanta lunīhi* and *punīhi* have lost the *udātta* syllable by *yaṇādēśa*.

अस्तु तर्हि पूर्वमात्रस्य

If so, let it be with reference to a *vidhi* pertaining to that which precedes immediately or remotely.

पूर्वमात्रस्येति चेदुपधाह्रस्वत्वम्

If it is to *pūrvamātra*, shortening of the penultimate (has to be enjoined).

पूर्वमात्रस्येति चेदुपधाह्रस्वत्वं वक्तव्यम् । वादितवन्तं प्रयोजितवान् - अवीवद-द्वीणां परिवादकेन

If it is with reference to *pūrvamātra*, there is need to enjoin *upadhāhrasvatva* in the word *avīvadat* in the sentence *avīvadad vīṇām parivādakēna* (he made the player play on lute) which is used when one asks the player play on it.

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति? Why is it not achieved?

योऽसौ णौ णिर्लुप्यते तस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् ह्रस्वत्वं न प्राप्नोति

The shortening of the penultimate is not achieved by the *sūtra* '*Ṇāu caṅyupadhāyā hrasvaḥ*' (7, 4, 1) on account of the *sthānivadbhāva* of elided *ṇic* following another *ṇic*.

गुरुसंज्ञा च *Gurusaṁjñā* too.

गुरुसंज्ञा च न सिद्ध्यति - श्लेष्मा ३ घ्न [1], पित्ता ३ घ्न, दा ३ ध्यश्व, मा ३ ध्वश्व - हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः इति संयोगसंज्ञा, संयोगे गुरु इति गुरुसंज्ञा, गुरोरनृत इति प्लुतो न प्राप्नोति ।

The designation *guru* is not possible to secure. Through the *sthānivadbhāva* of the *lōpa* of *a* in *ghna* in *ślēṣmaghna, pittaghna* and the *yaṇādēśa* of *i* and *u* in *dadhyaśva* and *madhvaśva*, *ghna*, *dhya* and *dhva* do not take the *saṁyōgasaṁjñā*, by the *sūtra* '*Halōsnantarāḥ saṁyōgaḥ*' (1, 1, 7), *a* in *ma*, *ta*, *da* and *ma* does not consequently take *gurusaṁjñā* by the *sūtra* '*Saṁyōgē guru*' (1, 4, 11) and hence it cannot become *pluta* through the *sūtra* '*Gurōr anṛtō...*' (8, 2, 86).

NOTE :—The *a* of *han* is elided by the *sūtra* '*Gamahanajanakhanaghasām lōpaḥ kṅityanaṅi*' (6, 4, 98).

ननु च यस्याप्यनन्तरस्य विधिं प्रति स्थानिवद्भावः तस्याप्यनन्तरलक्षणो विधिः संयोगसंज्ञा विधेया ।

Oh, the defect mentioned with reference to *saṁyōgasaṁjñā* holds good even to him who admits of *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to a *vidhi* to one which immediately precedes.

NOTE :—The difficulty with reference to *saṁyōgasaṁjñā* is common to both the holders of *anantaravidhisthānivadbhāva* and *pūrvamātrasthānivadbhāva*.

न वा संयोगस्यापूर्वविधित्वात्

No, on account of *saṁyōga* being *apūrvavidhi*.

न वैष दोषः This defect does not arise.

किं कारणम्? Why?

संयोगस्यापूर्वविधित्वात् । न पूर्वविधिः संयोगः

On account of *apūrvavidhitva* of *saṁyōga*. *Saṁyōga* is not *pūrvavidhi*.

किं तर्हि? What then?

पूर्वपरविधिः संयोगः

1. Bombay Edition reads श्लेष्म ३ घ्न...

Saṁyōga is that which pertains to both—that which precedes and that which follows.

NOTE :—It is the *samudāya* that gets the *saṁyōgasaṁjñā*.

एकादेशस्योपसङ्ख्यानम्
Upasaṅkhyāna of *ēkādēśa*.

एकादेशस्योपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् — श्रायसौ, गौमतौ, चातुरौ, आनडुहौ, पादे, उद्वाहे - एकादेशे कृते नुमामौ पद्भाव ऊडित्येते विधयः प्राप्नुवन्ति ।
Admission of *sthānivadbhāva* in *ēkādēśa* is necessary. Otherwise there is chance for *num* in *śrāyasāu* and *gāumatāu* (by the *sūtra* '*Ugidacām sarvanāmasthānēṣdhātōḥ*' 7, 1, 70), *ām* in *cāturāu*, *ānaḍuhāu* (by the *sūtra Caturanaḍuhōr ām udāttaḥ* (7, 1, 98), *padbhāva* in *pādē* (by the *sūtra* '*Pādaḥ pat*' 6, 4, 130) and *ūṭh* in *udavāhē* (by the *sūtra* '*Vāha ūṭh* (6, 4, 133).

किं पुनः कारणं न सिद्ध्यति [1] ?
Why does it not admit of *sthānivadbhāva* ?

उभयनिमित्तत्वात्
On account of its having both for the *nimitta*.

अजादेशः परनिमित्तक इत्युच्यते । उभयनिमित्तश्च अयम् ।
The *ajādēśa* which is *paranimittaka* is referred to in the *sūtra* ; but here the *ādēśa* is *ubhayanimittaka*.

उभयादेशत्वाच्च On account of its being the *ādēśa* of both.

अच आदेश इत्युच्यते । अचोश्चायमादेशः
The *ādēśa* of one vowel is referred to in the *sūtra* ; but here it is the *ādēśa* of two vowels.

नैष दोषः This objection cannot stand.

यत्तावदुच्यते उभयनिमित्तत्वादिति — इह यस्य ग्रामे नगरे वाऽनेकं कार्यं भवति, शक्नोत्यसौ ततोऽन्यतरतो व्यपदेष्टुम् - तद्यथा ग्रामे [2] गुरुनिमित्तं च वसामः, अध्ययननिमित्तं च वसामः इति

1. Bombay Edition reads सिद्ध्यन्ति.

2, Bombay Edition omits ग्रामे,

Firstly with reference to the objection *ubhayanimittatvāt* :-He who has to attend to many a function in a village or a city may be referred to by one of them For instance it may be said that we live in the village for the sake of the teacher or that we live in the village for the sake of study.

यदप्युच्यते उभयादेशत्वाच्चेति - इह यो द्वयोः षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टयोः प्रसङ्गे भवति लभतेऽसावन्यतरतो व्यपदेशम् - तद्यथा देवदत्तस्य पुत्रः, देवदत्तायाः पुत्र इति ।

Then with reference to the objection '*Ubhayādeśatvācca*'— He who has a chance of having relationship with two is named after either. This may be illustrated as follows :—One whose father is *Dēvadatta* and whose mother is *Dēvadattā* is called either *Dēvadatta's* son or *Dēvadattā's* son.

X

अथ हलचोरादेशः स्थानिवद्भवति उताहो न ?

(By the bye), does the *ādēśa* of a consonant and a vowel take *sthānivadbhāva* or not ?

कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

What is the peculiar feature to be noted here ?

हलचोरादेशः स्थानिवदिति चेद् विंशतेस्तिलोप एकादेशः

If the *ādēśa* of a *hal* and an *ac* takes *sthānivadbhāva*, (need for) the mention of *ēkādēśa* at the elision of *ti* in *viṁśati*.

हलचोरादेशः स्थानिवदिति चेत् विंशतेस्तिलोपे एकादेशो वक्तव्यः - विंशकः [1], विंशं शतम्, विंशः

If the *ādēśa* of a consonant and a vowel takes *sthānivadbhāva*, the *ēkādēśa* of the *pratyaya* and the final of *viṁśati* when *ti* is elided should be permitted.

NOTE :—1. *Ti* in *viṁśati* is dropped by the *sūtra* '*Ti viṁśatēr ḍiti*' (6, 4, 142) and it is followed by *aka* by the *sūtra Viṁśatitriṁśadbhyām ḍvun asaṁjñāyām*' (5, 1, 24) and there is *pararūpa* by '*Atō guṇē*' (6, 1, 97); hence is the form *viṁśaka*. *Viṁśam* is secured by the *sūtra* '*Śadantaviṁśatēśca*' (5, 2, 46) after the elision of *ti*.

1. Bombay Edition reads विंशकम्.

NOTE:—2. *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* reads:—*Viṁśa iti tu prakṣiptam, śatasahasrayōr ēva ḍasya iṣṭatvāt.*

स्थूलादीनां यणादिलोपेऽवादेशः

(Sanction of) *avādēśa* after the elision of *yaṇādi* in *sthūla* etc.

स्थूलादीनां यणादिलोपे कृते अवादेशो वक्तव्यः - स्थवीयान्, दवीयान्

After the portion, in the words *sthūla, dūra* etc., beginning with the letter found in *yaṇ-pratyāhāra* is dropped, sanction should be given for *avādēśa*, so that the words *sthavīyān* and *davīyān* can be formed.

NOTE:—1. The elision of *yaṇādi* in *sthūlādi* is by the *sūtra* '*Sthūla-dūra-yuva-hrasva-kṣipra-kṣudrāṇām yaṇādiparam pūrvasya ca guṇaḥ* (6, 4, 156).

NOTE:—2. If there is *sthānivadbhāva*, it prevents the *guṇa* from taking *avādēśa*.

केकयमित्रय्वोरियादेश एत्वम्

(Nonaccomplishment of) *ētva* when *iy* takes the place of *yakārādi* in the words *Kēkaya* and *Mitraya*.

केकयमित्रय्वोः इयादेशे एत्वं न सिध्यति - कैकेयः, मैत्रेयः - अचि इत्येवं न सिद्ध्यति ।

The *ē* in the words *Kāikēya*, and *Māitrēya* formed by the *sandhi* of *a* and *i* of *iy* is not possible (if there is the *sthānivad-bhāva* of *iy*) on account of the absence of *ac* after *a*, *iy* taking the place of *yakārādi* in the words *Kēkaya* and *Mitrayu* (by the *sūtra Kēkayamitrayupralayānām yādēr iyaḥ* 7, 3, 2).

उत्तरपदलोपे च In *uttarapadalōpa* too.

उत्तरपदलोपे च दोषो भवति - दध्युपसिक्ताः सक्तवः दधिसक्तवः - अचीति यणादेशः प्राप्नोति ।

There will be difficulty when there is the elision of *uttarapada* in *samāsa*. There is chance for *yaṇ* to replace *i* in *dadhi-saktavaḥ* (thro' *sthānivadbhāva*), since *u* of *upasikta* which has been dropped is *ac*.

यङ्लोपे यणियङुवङः

Non-accomplishment of *yaṇ*, *iyaṅ* and *uvaṅ* when there is *yaṅlōpa*.

यङ्लोपे यणियङुवङो न सिध्यन्ति - चेच्यः, नेन्यः, चेक्षियः, चेक्रियः, लोलुवः, पोपुवः - अचीति यणियङुवङो न सिध्यन्ति

Yaṇ in *cēcyaḥ* and *nēnyaḥ*, *iyaṅ* in *cēkṣiyaḥ* and *cēkriyaḥ* and *uvaṅ* in *lōluvaḥ* and *pōpuvaḥ* are not possible when there is *yaṅlōpa* (if it takes *sthānivadbhāva*), since there is no *ac* after the reduplicated root.

NOTE:—The *iyaṅ* and *uvaṅ* are enjoined in the *sūtra* '*Aci śnudhātubhruvām yvōr iyaṅuvaṅāu*' (6, 4, 77) and there is *guṇavṛddhiniṣēdha* for the final vowel by the *sūtra* '*Na dhātulōpa ārddhadhātukē*' (1, 1, 4)

अस्तु तर्हि न स्थानिवत्

There need not, then, be *sthānivadbhāva* to *hal* and *ac*.

अस्थानिवत्त्वे यङ्लोपे गुणवृद्धिप्रतिषेधः

Prohibition of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* in *yaṅlōpa* in the absence of *sthānivadbhāva*.

अस्थानिवत्वे यङ्लोपे गुणवृद्धयोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः लोलुवः पोपुवः सरीसृपः मरीमृजः इति

If *sthānivadbhāva* is not resorted to, there is need to prohibit *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* (to the final vowel of the reduplicated root) when *yaṅ* is elided, as in *lōluvaḥ*, *pōpuvaḥ*, *sarīsṛpaḥ* and *marīmṛjaḥ*.

नैष दोषः 'न धातुलोप आर्द्धधातुके' इति प्रतिषेधो भविष्यति

This difficulty does not arise, since there is prohibition by the *sūtra* '*Na dhātulōpa ārddhadhātukē*' (1, 1, 4).

XI

किं पुनराश्रीयमाणायां प्रकृतौ स्थानिवद्भवति, आहोस्विदविशेषेण ।

Is there *sthānivadbhāva* admitted when *sthānin* alone stands as *nimitta* to the *kārya* or elements other *sthānin* too stand as *nimitta*?

NOTE :—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* tells us that this topic, though it was dealt with before, is taken here to comment upon the *vārttikas* of a *Vārttikakāra* other than *Kātyāyana*.

कश्चात्र विशेषः ? What is the peculiar feature here ?

अविशेषेण स्थानिवदिति चेल्लोपयणादेशे गुरुविधिः

(Non-achievement of) *guruvidhi* when there is *lōpa* and *yaṇādēśa*, if *sthānivadbhāva* is admitted in both the cases.

अविशेषेण स्थानिवदिति चेल्लोपयणादेशयोर्गुरुविधिर्न सिद्ध्यति — श्लेष्मा ३ घ्न पित्ता ३ घ्न, दा ३ ध्यश्व, मा ३ ध्वश्व - हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः इति संयोगसंज्ञा, संयोगे गुरु इति गुरुसंज्ञा, गुरोः....इति प्लुतो न भवति ।

If *sthānivadbhāva* is admitted both when *sthānin* and *non-sthānin* are *nimitta* to the *kārya*, the rule depending upon *gurusaṁjñā* cannot operate in the words *ślēṣmā* ३ *ghna*, *pittā* ३ *ghna*, *dā* ३ *dhyaśva* and *mā* ३ *dhvaśva*. *Saṁyōgasaṁjñā* by the *sūtra Halōऽnantarāḥ saṁyōgaḥ*, *gurusaṁjñā* by the *sūtra saṁyōgē guru* and *pluta* by the *sūtra Gurōr anṛtaḥ*...will have no chance to operate.

द्विर्वचनादयश्च प्रतिषेधे

Prohibition with reference to *dvirvacana* etc.

द्विर्वचनादयश्च प्रतिषेधे वक्तव्याः - द्विर्वचनवरेयलोपेति

Dvirvacana, *varē*, *yalōpa* etc. should be mentioned that they are beyond the range of *sthānivadbhāva*.

क्सलोपे लुग्वचनम्

(Need for) the mention of *luk* when there is *lōpa* for *ksa.*

क्सलोपे लुग्वक्तव्यः - अदुग्ध, अदुग्धाः - लुग्वा दुहदिहलिहगुहामात्मनेपदे दन्त्ये इति

There is need for the mention of *luk* of *ksa* when there is chance for *lōpa*, so that the forms *adugdha* and *adugdhāḥ* can be secured as is enjoined in the *sūtra* '*Lug vā duhadihalihaguhām ātmanēpadē dantyē*' (7, 3, 73).

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads:—'क्सस्य अलोऽन्त्यस्येति लोपे कृते तस्य स्थानिवद्भावाद् झलो झलीति लोपो न स्यादिति लुग्वचनम् '

हन्तेर्घत्वम् Change of *h* to *gh* in *han*.

[1] हन्तेश्च घत्वं वक्तव्यम् - घ्नन्ति, घ्नन्तु, अघ्नन्

There is need for mentioning that *h* of *han* changes to *gh* in *ghnanti, ghnantu* and *aghnan*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads:—'अलोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वादनन्तरो नकारो न भवति इति घत्वाप्रसङ्गः'

अस्तु तर्हि आश्रीयमाणायां प्रकृताविति

If so, let it be when *sthānin* is *nimitta* to the *kārya*.

ग्रहणेषु स्थानिवदिति चेत् जग्ध्यादिष्वादेशप्रतिषेधः

If the *sthānivadbhāva* takes place when the *sthānin* is the *nimitta* to the *kārya*, need for prohibiting the *ādēśas* like *jagdhi*.

ग्रहणेषु स्थानिवदिति चेज्जग्ध्यादिष्वादेशस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - निराद्य, समाद्य - 'अदो जग्धिर्ल्यप्ति किति' इत्यदो जग्धिभावः प्राप्नोति ।

If it is said that *sthānivadbhāva* takes place when there is *nimittatva* only to *sthānin*, there is need to prohibit the *ādēśa* *jagdhi* to the root *ad* in the forms *nirādya* and *samādya* which is to come by the *sūtra* '*Adō jagdhir lyap ti kiti*' (2, 4, 36).

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads:—आदयतेर्णिलोपे कृते एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वाद् अदिरेवायम् इति जग्धिः प्राप्नोति । न च जग्धौ णिराश्रितः'

यणादेशे युलोपेत्वानुनासिकात्वप्रतिषेधः

(Need for) the *pratiṣēdha* of the *lōpa* of *y* and *u*, *ītva* and *anunāsikātva* in *yaṇādēśa*.

यणादेशे युलोपेत्वानुनासिकात्वानां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

There is need to mention the *lōpa* of *y* and *u*, *ītva* and *anunāsikātva* with reference to *yaṇādēśa*.

यलोप - वाय्वोः अध्वर्य्वोः - लोपो व्योर्वलि इति यलोपः प्राप्नोति ।

Yalōpa. There is chance for *yalōpa* in *vāyvōḥ* and *adhvaryvōḥ* by the *sūtra* '*Lōpō vyōr vali*.'

उलोप - अकुर्वि + आशाम् = अकुर्व्याशाम् - नित्यं करोतेः' 'ये च' इत्युकारलोपः प्राप्नोति ।

1. Bombay Edition omits च.

Ulōpa. There is chance for *ukāra* to elide in *akurvyāśām* by the *sūtra* '*Yē ca*' (6, 4, 109) which follows the *sūtra* '*Nityam karōtēḥ*' (6, 4, 108).

ईत्वम् - अलुनि + आशाम् - अलुन्याशाम् - 'ई हल्यघोः' इति ईत्वं प्राप्नोति

Ītva. There is chance for *ī* to appear in *alunyāśām* by the *sūtra* '*Ī halyaghōḥ*' (6, 4, 113).

अनुनासिकात्वम् - अजज्ञि + आशाम् = अजज्ञ्याशाम् - 'ये विभाषा' इति अनुनासिकात्वं प्राप्नोति ।

Anunāsikātvam. There is chance for *ā* in place of the *anunāsika* in *ajajñyāśām* by the *sūtra* '*Yē vibhāṣā*' (6, 4, 43).

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads :— 'बहिरङ्गपरिभाषानाश्रयेणैतदुच्यते'

रायात्वप्रतिषेधश्च (Need for) the *pratiṣēdha* of *ā* of *rāi*.

रायात्वस्य च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - रायि + आशाम् = राय्याशाम् - रायो हलि इत्यात्वं प्राप्नोति

There is need to prohibit the *ātva* in *rāi*, which may chance to come in *rāyyāśām* by the *sūtra* '*Rāyō hali*' (7, 2, 85).

दीर्घे यलोपप्रतिषेधः

Pratiṣēdha of *yalōpa* when it is followed by a long vowel.

दीर्घे यलोपस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । सौर्ये नाम हिमवतः शृङ्गे, तद्वान् सौर्यी हिमवान् इति । सौ इन्नाश्रये दीर्घत्वे कृते सूर्यतिष्येति यलोपः प्राप्नोति ।

There is need to prohibit *yalōpa* when it is followed by a *dīrgha.* There are two peaks to the *Himavān* by name *Sāuryā.* Since he has them, *Himavān* is called *Sāuryī.* After *i* of *in* is lengthened before *su* of the nominative singular suffix, there is chance for the elision of *y* by the *sūtra* '*Sūrya-tiṣya-agastya-matsyānām ya upadhāyāḥ* (6, 4, 149).

अतो दीर्घे यलोपवचनम्

(Need for) the mention of *yalōpa* at the lengthening of *at.*

अतो दीर्घे यलोपो वक्तव्यः - गार्गीभ्यां, वात्साभ्याम् - दीर्घे कृते 'आपत्यस्य च तद्धितेऽनाति' इति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति

There is need to mention the elision of *y* after *a* is lengthened (by the *sūtra* '*Supi ca*') in *gārgābhyām* and *vātsābhyām*, which has a chance to be prevented by the *sūtra* '*Āpatyasya ca taddhitēsnāti* (6, 4, 151).

नैष दोषः, आश्रीयते तत्र प्रकृतिस्तद्धित इति

There is no room for this *dōṣa*, since the *taddhita* is taken there to be *prakṛti*.

सर्वेषामेव परिहारः - उक्तं विधिग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनं, विधिमात्रे स्थानिवद् यथा स्याद् अनाश्रीयमाणायामपि प्रकृताविति ।

This is the answer to all. The *prayōjana* of the mention of *vidhi* in the *sūtra* has been stated thus:—There is *sthānivadbhāva* only when something is enjoined to that which precedes it bearing upon the *ādēśa* and not upon the *sthānin*.

अथवा पुनरस्तु अविशेषेण स्थानिवदिति

Or let it take *sthānivadbhāva* in both the cases.

ननु चोक्तं अविशेषेण स्थानिवदिति चेत् लोपयणादेशे गुरुविधिः, द्विर्वचनादयश्च प्रतिषेधे, क्सलोपे लुग्वचनं, हन्तेर्घत्वम् इति

Oh it has been said with reference to '*aviśēṣēṇa sthānivad*,' *lōpayaṇādēśē guruvidhiḥ, dvirvacanādayaśca pratiṣēdhē, ksalōpē lugvacanam, hantēr ghatvam*.'

नैष दोषः This *dōṣa* does not stand.

यत्तावदुच्यते - अविशेषेण स्थानिवदिति चेल्लोपयणादेशे गुरुविधिरिति - उक्तमेतत् - न वा संयोगस्यापूर्वविधित्वादिति

The first objection '*aviśēṣēṇa sthānivad iti cēt lōpayaṇādēśē guruvidhiḥ*' has been answered thus:—'*Na vā saṁyōgasyāpūrvavidhitvāt*.

यदप्युच्यते - द्विर्वचनादयश्च प्रतिषेधे वक्तव्याः इति - उच्यन्ते न्यास एव

Those that were stated next—'*dvirvacanādayaśca pratiṣēdhē vaktavyāḥ*' have been mentioned in the (next) *sūtra* itself.

क्सलोपे लुग्वचनमिति, क्रियते न्यास एव

With reference to *ksalōpē lugvacanam*, it is made in the *sūtra* (7, 3, 73) itself.

हन्तेर्घत्वमिति - सप्तमे परिहारं वक्ष्यति ।

Hantērghatvam - It will be answered in the seventh chapter.

NOTE:—From the *bhāṣya* under the *sūtra* '*Pratyayasthāt kātpūrvasyāta id āpyasupaḥ*' (7, 3, 44) we learn that the *vyavadhāna* through *sthānivadbhāva* is not *vighātaka*. Cf. *Kāiyaṭa's* statement:—'*Śrutikṛtam ānantaryam āśrīyatē, sthānivadbhāvakṛtam tu vyavadhānam vacanasāmarthyād avighātakam.*'

न पदान्तद्विर्वचनवरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णानुस्वारदीर्घजश्चर्विधिषु (1, 1, 58)

There are *five* topics under this *sūtra* :- (1) Whether *vidhi* in *padāntavidhi* is *karmasādhana* or *bhāvasādhana* (2) Whether *varēyalōpa* is one unit or two (3) Restriction in the *sthānivadbhāvaniṣēdha* with reference to *svara, dīrgha* and *yalōpa* (4) Need for the addition of *kviluk, upadhātva* etc. in the *sūtra* (5) The advantages and the disadvantages of taking *sthānivadbhāvaniṣēdha* in *pūrvatrāsiddhaprakaraṇa.*

I

पदान्तविधिं प्रति न स्थानिवद् इत्युच्यते, तत्र वेतस्वान् इति रुः प्राप्नोति

It is said that there is no *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to *padāntavidhi.* If so, there is chance for *s* of *vētasvān* to be replaced by *r.*

NOTE:—The *sūtra* '*Kumuda-naḍa-vētasēbhyō ḍmatup*' (4, 2, 87) enjoins *matup* after *vētasa.* The final *a* is dropped by the *sūtra* '*Ṭēḥ*' (6, 4, 143). Since *s* is now the final element of the *pada vētasa,* it has a chance to be replaced by *r* by the *sūtra* '*Sasajuṣō ruḥ*' (8, 2, 66).

नैष दोषः, भसंज्ञा अत्र बाधिका भविष्यति 'तसौ मत्वर्थे' इति

This difficulty does not arise, since the *bhasaṁjñā* enjoined to *tānta* and *sānta* before *matvarthapratyaya* by the *sūtra* '*Tasāu matvarthē*' (1, 4, 19) stands against the *padasaṁjñā.*

अकारान्तमेतद्भसंज्ञां प्रति, पदसंज्ञां प्रति सकारान्तम्

It should be taken as one ending in *a* with reference to *bhasaṁjñā* and as one ending in *s* with reference to *padasaṁjñā.*

NOTE:—Nothing prevents *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to *bhasaṁjñā.*

ननु चैवं विज्ञायते, यः सम्प्रति पदान्त इति ।

Oh, the *sūtra* is to be interpreted to have reference to that which is *padānta* at the time of its operation.

कर्मसाधनस्य विधिशब्दस्योपादाने एतदेवं स्यात्

This may be as it is, if the word *vidhi* is taken as *karmasādhana*. (i.e.) There is no difficulty in *vētasvān*, if *vidhi* is taken as *karmasādhana*.

अयं च विधिशब्दः अस्त्येव कर्मसाधनः, विधीयते इति विधिरिति

This word *vidhi* is evidently used as *karmasādhana* having its derivation thus :—*vidhīyatē iti vidhiḥ*.

अस्ति च भावसाधनः, विधानं विधिरिति । तत्र भावसाधनस्य विधिशब्दस्योपादाने एष दोषो भवति - इह च ब्रह्मबन्ध्वा, ब्रह्मबन्ध्वै, धकारस्य जश्त्वं प्राप्नोति

It is also used as *bhāvasādhana* thus :-*vidhānam vidhiḥ*. If *vidhi* in the *sūtra* is taken as *bhāvasādhana*, *d* has a chance to replace *dh* in *brahmabandhvā* and *brahmabandhvāi* and it is not desired.

NOTE :—The *strīpratyaya ūṅ* is enjoined by the *sūtra* '*Ūṅ utaḥ*' (4, 1, 66) after *brahmabandhu*. In the third and fourth cases it takes *yaṇādēśa* and by taking *v* as the *ādi* of *vā* and *vāi*, *dh* may be replaced by *d* by the *sūtra* '*Jhalām jaśōsntē*.'

अस्ति पुनः किञ्चिद् भावसाधनस्य विधिशब्दस्योपादाने सति इष्टं सङ्गृहीतम् आहोस्वित् दोषान्तमेव ।

Is there any advantage at all by taking *vidhi* as *bhāvasādhana* or only disadvantage ?

अस्तीत्याह — इह, कानि सन्ति, यानि सन्ति, कौ स्तः, यौ स्तः इति - योऽसौ पदान्तो यकारो वकारो वा श्रूयेत, स न श्रूयते । षडिकश्चापि सिद्धो भवति

"Yes," says he. *Y* or *v* which has a chance to exist at the end of *kāni, yāni, kāu* or *yāu* in *kāni sānti, yāni sānti, kāu staḥ* and *yāu staḥ* does not exist. The form *ṣaḍika* too is secured.

NOTE :—*Ṣaḍaṅgulidatta* is the name of a person. It takes the *pratyaya ṭhac* after it by the *sūtra* '*Bahvacō - manuṣyanāmnaṣṭhajvā*' (5, 3, 78). It is changed to *ṣaḍa* by the *sūtra*

'*Ṭhājādāvūrdhvaṁ dvitīyād acaḥ*' (5, 3, 83). The *a* of *ṣaḍa* is dropped by the *sūtra* '*Yasyēti ca*' (6, 4, 184). Hence we have *ṣaṣ+ika* Through the *sthānivadbhāva* of *a* which has been dropped, *ṣaṣ* takes the *padasaṁjñā* and hence *ṣ*, the *padānta*, takes *jaśbhāva*.

वाचिकस्तु न सिध्यति But the word *vācika* is not secured.

NOTE :—In analogy with *ṣaḍikaḥ*, *vācikaḥ* (*Vāgāśīrdatta* + *ika+s*) should be *vāgikaḥ*, but it is not so.

अस्तु तर्हि कर्मसाधनः If so, let it be *karmasādhana.*

यदि कर्मसाधनः, षडिको न सिध्यति

If it is *karmasādhana*, the word *ṣaḍikaḥ* is not secured.

अस्तु तर्हि भावसाधनः Let it, then, be *bhāvasādhana.*

वाचिको न सिध्यति The word *vācikaḥ* is not secured.

वाचिकषडिकौ न संवदेते

The words *vācikaḥ* and *ṣaḍikaḥ* are not analogous.

कर्तव्योऽत्र यत्नः

Effort need be made here (to secure both).

NOTE :—*Vārttikakāra* reads the *vārttika* '*Ēkākṣarapūrva-padānām uttarapadalōpō vaktavyaḥ*' to secure the form *vācikaḥ* under the *sūtra* '*Śēvala...*' (5, 3, 84).

कथं ब्रह्मबन्ध्वा ब्रह्मबन्ध्वै ?

How is one to secure the forms *brahmabandhvā*, *brahmabandhvāi* ?

उभयत्र आश्रयणे नान्तादिवद् इति

Since both (*dh* and *ū*) are taken into consideration, *dh* is not taken to be the end of the pada.

कथं वेतस्वान् ? How is one to secure the form *vētasvān ?*

नैवं विज्ञायते, पदस्यान्तः पदान्तः, पदान्तस्य विधिः पदान्तविधिः, पदान्तविधिं प्रति ।

The word *padāntavidhi* in *padāntavidhim prati* should not be analysed thus :—*padasya antaḥ* = *padāntaḥ* ; *padāntasya vidhiḥ* = *padāntavidhiḥ*.

कथं तर्हि ? How then ?

पदे अन्तः, पदान्तः, पदान्तस्य विधिः पदान्तविधिः, पदान्तविधिं प्रति
Padē antaḥ = padāntaḥ; *Padāntasya vidhiḥ = padāntavidhiḥ*; *padāntavidhim prati*.

अथवा यथैव अन्यान्यपि पदकार्याणि उपप्लवन्ते रुत्वं जश्त्वं च, एवमिदमपि पदकार्यमुपप्लोष्यते
Or, just as *rutva* and *jaśtva* which are the *kāryas* of *padacaramāvayava* are taken by *padāntavidhi*, so also this *padakārya* is taken to be the *kārya* of *padacaramāvayava*.

किम् ? What is it ?

भसंज्ञा नाम Evidently the designation *bha*.

II

वरे यलोपविधिं प्रति न स्थानिवद्भवति इत्युच्यते । तत्र तेऽप्सु यायावरः प्रवपेत पिण्डान् । अवर्णलोपविधिं प्रति स्थानिवत् स्यात्
It is said that there is no *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to the *yalōpavidhi* when the *pratyaya vara* follows. Hence in the word *yāyāvara* in the sentence '*Tē apsu yāyāvaraḥ pravapēta piṇḍān*,' there is chance for *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to the *vidhi* based on the *lōpa* of *a*.

NOTE :—The *pratyaya varac* is enjoined after the *yaṅanta* of the root *yā* by the *sūtra* '*Yaśca yaṅaḥ*' (3, 2, 176). The *a* after *y* is dropped by the *sūtra* '*Atō lōpaḥ*' (6, 4, 48) If the *sthānivadbhāvaniṣēdha* is with reference to *yalōpa*, it is not with reference to *alōpa* and hence *avarṇa* can be dropped by the *sūtra* '*Atō lōpa iti ca*'.

नैष दोषः । नैवं विज्ञायते - वरे यलोपविधिं प्रति न स्थानिवद्भवति[1] इति
This objection cannot stand. It is not interpreted that there is no *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to *yalōpavidhi* when *vara* follows.

कथं तर्हि ? How then ?

1. Bombay Edition omits भवति.

वरेऽयलोपविधिं प्रति इति

With reference to *ayalōpavidhi* when *vara* follows.

किमिदमयलोपविधिं प्रति इति ?

What is meant by with reference to *ayalōpavidhi* ?

अवर्णलोपविधिं प्रति यलोपविधिं च प्रति इति

With reference to *akāralōpavidhi* and *yakāralōpavidhi.*

अथवा योगविभागः करिष्यते - वरे लुप्तं न स्थानिवत्; ततो यलोपविधिं प्रति न स्थानिवद् इति

Or *varēyalōpa* in the *sūtra* is not taken as a unit, but is taken as two units, so that it means that there is no *sthānivadbhāva* of that which elides when *vara* follows and also with reference to *yalōpavidhi.*

यलोपे किमुदाहरणम्?

What is the example for '*yalōpavidhim prati na sthānivat*'?

कण्डूयतेरप्रत्ययः कण्डूरिति

The word *kaṇḍūḥ* which is formed by adding *kvip* to the *nāmadhātu kaṇḍūyati* (where *y* is *kyac*).

नैतदस्ति, क्वौ लुप्तं न स्थानिवत्

No, it cannot be, since there is no *sthānivadbhava* to that which is elided when followed by *kvip.*

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम्, सौरी बलाका

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that the form *sāurī* in the expression *sāurī balākā* is achieved.

NOTE:—If there is *sthānivadbhāva* of the two *akāras* in *sūrya+aṇ+ī*, *y* cannot be *upadhā* and hence it cannot be dropped by the *sūtra* '*Sūryatiṣyāgastyamatsyānām ya upadhāyāḥ*' (6, 4, 149).

नैतदस्ति, उपधाविधित्वं प्रति न स्थानिवत्

This cannot be, since there is no *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to a rule relating to *upadhā.*

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - आदित्यः

This, then, is the *prayōjana*-the word *āditya.*

NOTE :—First the word *āditya* is derived by adding *ṇya* to *aditi* by the *sūtra Sāsya dēvatā* (4, 2, 24); another *ṇya* is added to *āditya* in the sense of *bhava* and one *y* is dropped by the *sūtra* '*Halō yamām yami lōpaḥ*' (8, 4, 64) if there is *sthānivattvaniṣēdha.*

नैतदस्ति, पूर्वत्रासिद्धे न स्थानिवत्

This is not the *prayōjana*, since there is no *sthānivadbhāva* when a rule found in *pūrvatrāsiddhaprakaraṇa* has a chance to operate.

इदं तर्हि - कण्डूतिः, वल्गूतिः

This, then, is the *prayōjana* - the words *kaṇḍūtiḥ* and *valgūtiḥ.*

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् - कण्डूया वल्गूया इति भवितव्यम्

No, it is not the *prayōjana*, since the proper forms are *kaṇḍūyā* and *valgūyā.*

इदं तर्हि - कण्डूयतेः क्तिच् - ब्राह्मणकण्डूतिः, क्षत्रियकण्डूतिः

This, then, is the *prayōjana-brāhmaṇakaṇḍūtiḥ* and *kṣatriyakaṇḍūtiḥ* where the *pratyaya ktic* comes after *kaṇḍū.*

III

प्रतिषेधे स्वरदीर्घयलोपेषु लोपाजादेशो[1] न स्थानिवत्

It is to be stated that there is no *sthānivadbhāva* in *lōpājādēśa* with reference to *svara, dīrgha* and *yalōpa* in *pratiṣēdhasūtra.*

प्रतिषेधे स्वरदीर्घयलोपविधिषु लोपाजादेशो न स्थानिवद्भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

Mention has to be made in the *pratiṣēdhaśāstra* that *lōpājādēśa* does not take *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to *svara, dīrgha* and *yalōpa.*

स्वर - आकर्षिकः, चिकीर्षकः, जिहीर्षकः

Svara - ākarṣikaḥ, cikīrṣakaḥ, jihīrṣakaḥ.

NOTE :—If there is *sthānivadbhāva* to *a* which has elided on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Yasyēti ca*' *a* preceding *rṣi* in the first and *ī* preceding *rṣa* (in the second and third) cannot get *udāttasvara.*

1. *Lōpājādēśa* means the *lōpa* which stands as the *ādēśa* of *ac.*

यो हि अन्य आदेशः स्थानिवद्देवासौ भवति - पञ्चारत्न्यः, दशारत्न्यः । स्वर

If any one other than *lōpājādēśa* is the *ādēśa,* there is *sthānivadbhāva.* viz. *pañcāratnyaḥ, daśāratnyaḥ.*

दीर्घ - प्रतिदीव्ना प्रतिदीव्ने - यो ह्यन्य आदेशः स्थानिवद्देवासौ भवति - कियोः, गियोः - दीर्घ ।

Dīrgha—There is no *sthānivadbhāva* for the *lōpa* in *pratidīvnā,* and *pratidīvnē.* Where there is an *ādēśa* other than *lōpa* there is *sthānivadbhāva,* as in *kiryōḥ, giryōḥ.*

NOTE:—In *pratidivan* + *śas* (accusative plural suffix), the *a* of *an* is dropped by the *sūtra* '*Allōpōsnaḥ*' (6, 4, 134) and *i* of *div* is lengthened by the *sūtra* '*Hali ca*' (8, 2, 77); here there is no *sthānivadbhāva* for *allōpa.* In *kiryōḥ* and *giryōḥ* which are the genetive-locative dual of *kiri* and *giri* which are formed from the roots *kr̥* and *gr̥* by the addition of *i,* there is no *upadhāguṇa* since *yaṇ* takes its *sthānivadbhāva.*

यलोप - ब्राह्मणकण्डूतिः, क्षत्रियकण्डूतिः । यो ह्यन्य आदेशः स्थानिवद्देवासौ भवति - वाय्वोः अध्वर्य्वोः इति । यलोप

Yalōpa. There is no *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to *yalōpa* in *brāhmaṇakaṇḍūtiḥ* and *kṣatriyakaṇḍūtiḥ.* Where there is an *ādēśa* other than *lōpa,* there is *sthānivadbhāva* so that the *sūtra* '*Lōpo vyōr vali*' does not operate in *vāyvōḥ* and *adhvaryvōḥ.*

तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It, then, should be mentioned.

न वक्तव्यम् । इह हि लोपोऽपि प्रकृतः, आदेशोऽपि; विधिग्रहणमपि प्रकृतमनुवर्तते, दीर्घादयोऽपि निर्दिश्यन्ते । केवलं तत्राभिसम्बन्धमात्रं कर्तव्यं, स्वरदीर्घयलोपविधिषु लोपाजादेशो न स्थानिवदिति ।

It need not be mentioned. The word *lōpa* is found here in this *sūtra,* the word *ādēśa* and the word *vidhi* too are taken here from the previous *sūtras* and *dīrghādis* are mentioned here. It is only necessary to establish their relationship to arrive at the statement; '*svara-dīrgha-yalōpavidhiṣu lōpājādēśō na sthānivad.*

आनुपूर्व्येण सन्निविष्टानां यथेष्टमभिसम्बन्धः शक्यते कर्तुम् । न चैतान्यानुपूर्व्येण सन्निविष्टानि ।

It is possible to establish the relationship, in any way we like, of words read only in a particular sequence. But these are not read in a particular sequence.

अनानुपूर्व्येणापि सन्निविष्टानां यथेष्टमभिसम्बन्धो भवति । तद्यथा - अनड्वाहमुदहारि या त्वं हरसि शिरसा कुम्भं भगिनि साचीनमभिधावन्तमद्राक्षीः इति । तस्य यथेष्टमभिसम्बन्धो भवति - उदहारि भगिनि! या त्वं कुम्भं हरसि शिरसा, अनड्वाहं साचीनमभिधावन्तमद्राक्षीः इति

It is possible to establish the relationship of words which are not read in a particular sequence too For example the sentence '*Anaḍvāham udahāri yā tvam harasi śirasā kumbham bhagini sācīnam abhidhāvantam adrākṣīḥ*' may be taken in this order:— '*Udahāri bhagini! yā tvam kumbham harasi śirasā, anaḍvāham sācīnam abhidhāvantam adrākṣīḥ.*'

NOTE :—1. The meaning of the sentence is this :-Sister carrying water, you, who carry the pot upon the head saw the bull running across.

NOTE :—2. Since it is not easy to make such a collection of words as suggested by *Mahābhāṣyakāra*, it may be said that he is not serious in advocating that the *vārttika* is not necessary.

IV

क्विलुगुपधात्वचङ्परनिर्ह्रासकुत्वेषूपसङ्ख्यानम्

Addition of '*kvi-lug-upadhātva-caṅparanirhrāsa-kutvēṣu*'.

क्विलुगुपधात्वचङ्परनिर्ह्रासकुत्वेषूपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम्

Addition of '*kvi-lug-upādhātva-caṅparanirhrāsa-kutvēṣu*' should be done in the *sūtra*.

क्वौ किमुदाहरणम्?

What is the example with reference to *kvi*?

कण्डूयतेरप्रत्ययः कण्डूरिति

The word *kaṇḍūḥ* derived from the root *kaṇḍū* by the addition of *kvip*.

नैतदस्ति, यलोपविधिं प्रति न स्थानिवत्

This cannot be a suitable example, since it has been said in the *sūtra* that there is no *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to *yalōpa.*

इदं तर्हि - पिपठिषतेरप्रत्ययः - पिपठीः

This, then, *pipaṭhīḥ* derived by adding *kvip* to the desiderative stem of *paṭh*, is the example.

नैतदस्ति । दीर्घविधिं प्रति न स्थानिवत्

This cannot be. There is no *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to *dīrghavidhi.*

इदं तर्हि लावयतेर्लौः, पावयतेः पौः

This then is the example :-*lāuḥ* derived from the *ṇijanta* of *lū* and *pāuḥ* from the *ṇijanta* of *pū*.

NOTE :—In *lāv+i+kvip*, *i* is dropped and on account of its *sthānivadbhāva*, *v* is not replaced by *ūṭh*.

नैतदस्ति । अकृत्वा वृद्ध्यावादेशौ णिलोपः । प्रत्ययलक्षणेन वृद्धिर्भविष्यति ।

No, this cannot be an example. *Ṇic* is elided before *ū* of the root takes *vṛddhi* and *āvādēśa* and *ū* then takes *vṛddhi* on the dictum '*Pratyayalōpē pratyayalakṣaṇam*'.

इदं तर्हि - लवमाचष्टे लवयति, लवयतेरप्रत्यये - लौः, पौः स्थानिवद्भावात् णेरूठ् न प्राप्नोति । क्वौ लुप्तं न स्थानिवद् इति भवति

This then—*lāuḥ* and *pāuḥ* derived from *lavayati* in the sense of *lavam ācaṣṭē* (and *pavayati* in the sence of *pavam ācaṣṭē*) may serve as example. On account of the *sthānivadbhāva* of *ṇic*, *ūṭh* does not come. It chances to come if the dictum '*Kvāu luptam na sthānivad*' is admitted.

एवमपि न सिध्यति

Even then the desired object is not accomplished.

कथम्? Why?

क्वौ णिलोपः, णौ अकारलोपः, तस्य स्थानिवद्भावाद् ऊण् न प्राप्नोति

There is *ṇilōpa* on account of *kvip*; there is *akāralōpa* on account of *ṇic* and *ūṭh* does not set in on account of its *sthānivadbhāva.*

नैष दोषः, नैवं विज्ञायते क्वौ लुप्तं न स्थानिवद् इति

This difficulty does not arise, since it is not interpreted that the *lōpa* on account of *kvip* does not take *sthānivadbhāva*.

कथं तर्हि? How then?

क्वौ विधिं प्रति न स्थानिवद् इति

It is interpreted that there is no *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to a *vidhi* which operates in the presence of *kvip*.

लुकि किमुदाहरणम्?

What is the example with reference to *luk*?

बिम्बं, बदरम्

The words *bimbam* (bimba fruit) and *badaram* (badara fruit)

NOTE:—The words *bimbī* and *badarī* (names of trees) take the *pratyaya añ* by the *sūtra* '*Anudāttādēśca* (4, 3, 130); *añ* and *ṅīṣ* are respectively dropped by the *sūtras* '*Phalē luk*' (4, 3, 164) and '*Luk taddhitaluki*' (1, 2, 49). On account of the *luk* of *ṅīṣ* there is chance for its *sthānivadbhāva*.

नैतदस्ति, पुंवद्भावेनाप्येतत् सिद्धम्

It is not a suitable example, since it is achieved by *puṁvadbhāva* on the strength of the *Vārttika* '*Bhasyāḍhē taddhitē*' under 6, 3, 35.

इदं तर्हि - आमलकम् If so this—*āmalakam* - is an example.

नैतदस्ति । वक्ष्यत्येतत् - फले लुग्वचनानर्थक्यं प्रकृत्यन्तरत्वाद् इति

No, this is not so. *Vārttikakāra* is going to say under '*Phalē luk*' that it is unnecessary, since *āmalaka*, *badara* and *bimba* are different stems.

इदं तर्हि पञ्चभिः पट्वीभिः क्रीतः पञ्चपटुः दशपटुः इति

This, then may be the example:–*Pañcapaṭuḥ*, *daśapaṭuḥ* which mean that which is purchased for five *paṭvī* and ten *paṭvī*.

NOTE:—The *sūtra* '*Ārhād....ṭhak*' (5, 1, 19) enjoins *ṭhak*; and *ṭhak* has *luk* by the *sūtra* '*Adhyardhapūrvadvigōr lug asaṁjñāyām*' (5, 1, 28) *Ṅīṣ* is dropped by '*Luk taddhitaluki*'. On acconnt of the *sthānivadbhāva* of *luk*, there is chance for *yaṇādēśa*.

ननु चैतदपि पुंवद्भावेनैव सिद्धम्

Oh! this too is accomplished through *puṁvadbhāva.*

कथं पुंवद्भावः? How is *puṁvadbhāva* secured?

भस्याढे तद्धिते पुंवद्भवतीति

There is *puṁvadbhāva* on the strength of the *vārttika* '*Bhasyāḍhē taddhitē*'.

भस्येत्युच्यते; यजादौ च भं[1] भवति; न चात्र यजादिं पश्यामः

'*Bhasya*' is said; There is *bha* when the *pratyaya* is *yajādi;* and we see no *yajādi* here.

प्रत्ययलक्षणेन यजादिः

There is *yajādi* on the strength of the dictum '*Pratyayalōpē pratyayalakṣaṇam*'.

वर्णाश्रये नास्ति प्रत्ययलक्षणम्

Pratyayalakṣaṇa has no place where one is based on *varṇa.*

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads: *Yatra bhāvi bhatvam tatra puṁvadbhāvaḥ; iha tu luki bhatvābhāvāt kutaḥ puṁvadbhāvaḥ?*'

एवं तर्हि 'ठक्छसोश्च' इत्येवं भविष्यति ।

If so *puṁvadbhāva* takes place on the strength of the *vārttika* '*Ṭhakchasōśca.*'

ठक्छसोश्चेत्युच्यते, न चात्र ठक्छसौ पश्यामः

Mention is made of '*ṭhakchasōśca,*' but we do not see *ṭhak* and *śas* here.

प्रत्ययलक्षणेन Through *pratyayalakṣaṇa.*

'न लुमता तस्मिन्' इति प्रत्ययलक्षणस्य प्रतिषेधः

The *vārttika* '*Na lumatā tasmin*' prohibits the operation of *pratyayalakṣaṇa.*

न खल्वप्यवश्यं ठगेव क्रीतप्रत्ययः, क्रीताद्यर्था एव वा तद्धिताः

It is not necessary that *ṭhak* should invariably be a *krīta-pratyaya,* nor *taddhitas* have only the meaning *krītādi.*

किं तर्हि? What then?

1. Bombay Edition reads भसंज्ञा.

अन्येऽपि तद्धिता ये लुकं प्रयोजयन्ति

There are other *taddhitapratyayas* too which take *luk*.

पञ्चेन्द्राण्यो देवता अस्येति पञ्चेन्द्रः । दशेन्द्रः, शतेन्द्रः, पञ्चाग्निः, दशाग्निः, शताग्निः [1]

(There is *luk* in) *pañcēndra* which means *pañca indrāṇyaḥ dēvatā asya*. (Similarly) are *daśēndraḥ*, *śatēndraḥ*, *pañcāgniḥ*, *daśāgniḥ*, and *śatāgniḥ*.

उपधात्वे किमुदाहरणम्

What is the example with reference to *upadhātva?*

पिपठिषतेरप्रत्ययः पिपठीरिति

The word *pipaṭhīḥ* formed by the addition of *kvip* to the *sannanta* of the root *paṭh*.

नैतदस्ति, दीर्घविधिं प्रति न स्थानिवत्

This cannot be, since there is no *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to *dīrghavidhi.*

इदं तर्हि सौरी बलाका

If so, this—*sāurī* in *sāurī balākā*—serves as an example.

नैतदस्ति, यलोपविधिं प्रति न स्थानिवत्

This cannot be, since there is no *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to *yalōpa*.

इदं तर्हि पारिखीयः

If so, this—*pārikhīyaḥ* serves as the example.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads: "*Parikhāśabdāt cāturarthikē aṇi kṛtē, ākāralōpasya sthānivattvāt pārikhē bhava iti 'Vṛddhādakēkāntakhōpadhāt' iti chō na syāt.*"

चङ्परनिर्ह्रासे चोपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । वादितवन्तं प्रयोजितवान् अवीवदद् वीणां परिवादकेन

Addition need be made with reference to *upadhāhrasvatva* before *caṅ*, to form the word *avīvadat* in the sentence '*avīvadad vīṇām parivādakēna*' which is used when one asks the player play on it.

1. Bombay Edition omits शताग्निः.

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति ? Why is it not accomplished ?

योऽसौ णौ णिर्लुप्यते तस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् ह्रस्वत्वं न प्राप्नोति ।
Hrasvatva has no chance to set in on account of the *sthānivad-bhāva* of *ṇic* which is elided before another *ṇic*.

ननु चैतदप्युपधात्वविधिं प्रति न स्थानिवदित्येव सिद्धम्
Oh! this too comes under the principle that there is no *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to *upadhātvavidhi*.

विशेषतः एतद्वक्तव्यम् This must be mentioned separately.

क्व ? Where ?

प्रत्ययविधाविति । इह मा भूत् पटयति लघयति इति
In *pratyayavidhi*, so that it may not operate here in *paṭayati* and *laghayati*.

कुत्वे चोपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - अर्चयतेरर्कः, मर्चयतेर्मर्कः
Addition has to be made with reference to *kutva*, so that *arkaḥ* and *markaḥ* may be formed from the roots *arc* and *marc* of the *curādi* class.

NOTE :—*Kutva* in *arka* and *marka* is from the *sūtra* '*Cajōḥ kughiṇyatōḥ*' (7, 3, 52)

नैतद्घञन्तम् । औणादिक एव कशब्दः, तस्मिन्नाष्टमिकं कुत्वम्
This—*arka* and *marka*—is not *ghañanta*, but has *auṇādika kapratyaya* after it and the *kutva* takes place from the *sūtra* in the eighth adhyāya (i.e.) *Cōḥ kuḥ*.

एतदपि णिचा व्यवहितत्वान्न प्राप्नोति
This too has no chance to operate, since there is the interception of *ṇic*.

V

पूर्वत्रासिद्धे च In *pūrvatrāsiddha* too.

पूर्वत्रासिद्धे च न स्थानिवद् इति वक्तव्यम्
It must be mentioned that there is no *sthānivādbhāva* in *pūrvatrāsiddhaprakaraṇa*.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? What is the use ?

प्रयोजनं क्सलोपः सलोपे

The *prayōjana* is that there is the elision of *ksa* when there is *salōpa*.

क्सलोपः सलोपे प्रयोजनम् । अदुग्ध, अदुग्धाः

The *prayōjana* is the *lōpa* of *ksa* before *salōpa*, as in *adugdha* and *adugdhāḥ*.

लुग्वा दुहदिहलिहगुहामात्मनेपदे दन्त्ये इति लुग्ग्रहणं न ?

Is there not, in that case, the necessity for the mention of *luk* in the *sūtra* '*Lugvā...dantyē* (7, 3, 73)?

कर्तव्यं भवति It must be mentioned.

दध आकारलोपे आदिचतुर्थत्वे

Elision of *ā* in *dā* and *dhā* when the initial changes to the fourth letter.

दध आकारलोप आदिचतुर्थत्वे प्रयोजनम् - धत्से, धद्ध्वे, धद्ध्वम् इति । दधस्तथोश्च इति चकारो न कर्तव्यो भवति ।

Elision of *ā* in *dā* and *dhā* when the initial changes to the fourth, as in *dhatsē*, *dhaddhvē*, *dhaddhvam* is the *prayōjana* and consequently *ca* in the *sūtra Dadhastathōśca* (8, 2, 38) need not be read.

हलो यमां यमि लोपे

With reference to the *lōpa* of *yam* following *hal*, when *yam* follows.

हलो यमां यमि लोपे प्रयोजनम् । आदित्यः । हलो यमां यमि लोपः सिद्धो भवति ।

The *prayōjana* is in the *lōpa* of *yam* following *hal* and preceding *yam*, as in *ādityaḥ*. The *lōpa* of *yam* after *hal* and before *yam* becomes a decided fact.

अल्लोपणिलोपौ संयोगान्तलोपप्रभृतिषु

Allōpa and *ṇilōpa* with reference to *saṁyōgānta* etc.

अल्लोपणिलोपौ संयोगान्तलोपप्रभृतिषु प्रयोजनम् । पापच्यतेः पापक्तिः, यायज्यतेः यायष्टिः, पाचयतेः पाक्तिः, याजयतेः याष्टिः ।

The *prayōjana* is *allōpa* and *ṇilōpa* when *saṁyōgāntalōpa* etc. occur, as in *pāpaktiḥ, yāyaṣṭiḥ, pāktiḥ* and *yāṣṭiḥ* derived from *pāpacya, yāyajya, pācay* and *yājay*.

द्विर्वचनादीनि च *Dvirvacana* etc. too.

द्विर्वचनादीनि च प्रयोजनानि [1]; न पठितव्यानि भवन्ति; पूर्वत्रासिद्धेनैव सिद्धानि भवन्ति ।

Dvirvacana etc. too become *prayōjanas*; hence they need not be read in the *sūtra*; they are accomplished by accepting that there is no *sthānivadbhāva* in *pūrvatrāsiddhaprakaraṇa*.

किमविशेषेण ? Is it wholly ?

नेत्याह No, says he.

वरेयलोपस्वरवर्जम् Except *varē, yalōpa* and *svara*.

वरेयलोपं स्वरं च वर्जयित्वा Except *varēyalōpa* and *svara*.

तस्य दोषः संयोगादिलोपलत्वणत्वेषु

The ills of its operation are with reference to *saṁyōgādilōpa*, *latva* and *ṇatva*.

तस्यैतस्य लक्षणस्य दोषः संयोगादिलोपलत्वणत्वेषु

It (*pūrvatrāsiddhē ca*) is defective with reference to *saṁyōgādilōpa, latva* and *ṇatva* (i. e.) there is *sthānivadbhāva* with reference to them.

संयोगादिलोपे - काक्यर्थम् वास्यर्थम् - स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च इति लोपः प्राप्नोति ।

Saṁyōgādilōpa. There is chance for *Skōḥ saṁyōgādyōr antē ca* (8, 2, 29) to operate in *kākyartham, vāsyartham* and bring out the *lōpa* of *k* and *s*.

NOTE :—स्थानिवद्भावात् न प्राप्नोति is understood at the end.

लत्वम् - निगार्यते निगाल्यते - अचि विभाषा इति लत्वं न प्राप्नोति ।

Latva There will be no chance for *r* of *nigāryatē* to change to *l* by the *sūtra Aci vibhāṣā*' (8, 2, 21).

1. Bombay Edition omits प्रयोजनानि

NOTE :—स्थानिवद्भावात् प्राप्नोति is understood at the end.

णत्वम् - माषवपनी व्रीहिवपनी - प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य इति णत्वं प्राप्नोति

Ṇatva. The *sūtra* '*Prātipadikāntanum vibhaktiṣu ca* (8, 4, 11) may chance to operate (so that there may be optional *ṇatva*) in *māṣavapanī* and *vrīhivapanī*.

NOTE :—स्थानिवद्भावात् न प्राप्नोति is understood at the end.

द्विर्वचनेऽचि (1-1-60)

There are *two* topics here :—(1) The possible interpretations on the *sūtra* and the final decision, and (2) the benefits of the *sūtra*.

I

आदेशे स्थानिवदनुदेशात्तद्वतो द्विर्वचनम्

Doubling of *ādēśavat* on account of *sthānivadbhāva* being enjoined to *ādēśa*.

आदेशे स्थानिवदनुदेशात्तद्वतः

Since *sthānivattva* is enjoined to *ādēśa*, (it is) to that containing it.

किंवतः ? To that containing which ?

आदेशवतः To that containing the *ādēśa*.

द्विर्वचनं प्राप्नोति There is a chance for doubling.

NOTE :—The *vārttika* tells us that there is *kāryātidēśa*.

तत्र को दोषः ? What is the harm then ?

तत्राभ्यासरूपम्

(The non achievement of) the form of *abhyāsa* then.

तत्र अभ्यासरूपं न सिध्यति - चक्रतुः चक्रुः

The desired form of the *abhyāsa* in *cakratuḥ*, and *cakruḥ* cannot be achieved then.

NOTE :—If *yaṇādēśa* of *ṛ* in *kṛ* operates first, *kṛ* has to be doubled ; but doubling is enjoined to *ēkāc*.

अज्ग्रहणं तु ज्ञापकं रूपस्थानिवद्भावस्य

But the mention of *ac* is *jñāpaka* to *rūpātidēśa*,

यद्‌यमज्ग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो रूपं स्थानिवद् भवतीति

Since the *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) makes mention of *ac*, he suggests that there is only *rūpātidēśa.*

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम्? How is it taken to be *jñāpaka* ?

अज्ग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनम् - इह मा भूत् जेघ्रीयते देध्मीयते इति । यदि च रूपं स्थानिवद् भवति, ततोऽज्ग्रहणमर्थवद्भवति ।

This is the *prayōjana* of *ajgrahaṇa*, that it may not operate here in *jēghrīyatē* and *dēdhmīyatē.* If there is *rūpātidēśa*, *ajgrahaṇa* is *sārthaka* here.

अथ हि कार्यं, नार्थोऽज्ग्रहणेन ; भवत्येवात्र द्विर्वचनम्

If there is *kāryātidēśa*, no purpose is served by the mention of *ac*; doubling necessarily takes place here.

NOTE : – *Jēghrīyatē* and *dēdhmīyatē* are the *yaṅanta* forms of the roots *ghrā* and *dhmā*. The *sūtras* '*Sanyaṅōḥ*' (6, 1, 9) and '*Ī ghrādhmōḥ*' (7, 4, 31) bring out reduplication and *ītvādēśa* to *ā*.

तत्र गाङ्प्रतिषेधः Prohibition of *gāṅ* then.

तत्र गाङः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः - अधिजगे ; इवर्णाभ्यासता प्राप्नोति

It *rūpātidēśa* is admitted, there is need to prohibit *gāṅ* found in *adhijagē* from the operation of the *sūtra* ; for the *abhyāsa* will contain only *i*.

NOTE :—The root *iṅ* takes the *ādēśa gā* by the *sūtra* '*Gāṅ liṭi*' (2, 4, 49).

न वक्तव्यः, गाङ्ल्लिटि इति द्विलकारो निर्देशः, लिटि लकारादौ इति ।

No, it need not be said ; the *sūtra* '*Gāṅlliṭi*' is read with two *lakaras*, so that it means that *iṅ* takes the *ādēśa gā* in *liṭ* before *lakāra*.

कृत्येजन्तदिवादिनामधातुष्वभ्यासरूपम्

(Non-achievement of) *abhyāsarūpa* with reference to *kṛt*, *ējanta*, *divādi* and *nāmadhātu*.

कृत्येजन्तदिवादिनामधातुष्वभ्यासरूपं न सिध्यति ।

The *abhyāsarūpa* in *kṛt*, *ējanta*, *divādi* and *nāmadhātu* cannot be accomplished.

कृति - अचिकीर्तत् - कृति

Kṛti.—The *abhyāsa* in *acikīrtat* cannot be *ci*, (but *ca*).

NOTE:—The *sūtras* '*Upadhāyāśca*' (7, 1, 101) and '*Upadhāyāñca*' (8, 2, 79) enjoin that *ṛ* is changed to *ir* and *i* is lengthened. If *ir* before *caṅ* takes *sthānivadbhāva*, *abhyāsa* will be only *ca*.

एजन्त - जग्ले, मम्ले - एजन्त

Ējanta.—The *abhyāsa* in *jaglē* and *mamlē* cannot be *ja* and *ma* (but *ji* and *mi*).

NOTE:—*Jaglē* and *mamlē* are the third person singular forms in *liṭ* of the roots *glāi* and *mlāi*; *āi* is changed to *ā* by the *sūtra* '*Ādēca upadēśa aśiti*' (6, 1, 45). If it takes *sthānivadbhāva* the vowel in the *abhyāsa* can be only *i*.

दिवादि - दुद्यूषति, सुस्यूषति - दिवादि

Divādi. The *abhyāsa* in *dudyūṣati* and *susyūṣati* cannot be *du* and *su* (but *di* and *si*)

NOTE:—*Dudyūṣati* and *susyūṣati* are the *sannanta* forms of the roots *div* and *siv*, where *v* takes the *ādēśa ūṭh* by the *sūtra* '*Cchvōḥ śūḍ ānunāsikē ca* (6, 4, 19). If it takes *sthānivattva*, the vowel in the *abhyāsa* should be only *i*.

नामधातु - भवनमिच्छति भवनीयति, भवनीयतेः सन् बिभवनीयिषति

Nāmadhātu.—The *abhyāsa* in *bibhavanīyiṣati*, the *sannanta* form of the *nāmadhātu bhavanīyati* which means *bhavanam icchati* cannot be *bi*, (but *bu*).

NOTE:—1. If there is *sthānivadbhāva* of *av* in *bhav*, the vowel in the *abhyāsa* can be only *u*, since *i* can take the place of only *a* in *san* by the *sūtra* '*Sanyataḥ*' (7, 4, 79).

NOTE:—2. The above *vārttika* arises on the assumption that the *sūtra* '*Dvirvacanēṣci*' means '*Aci yaḥ ajādēśaḥ saḥ dvirvacanē kartavyē sthānivat.*'

एवं तर्हि प्रत्यय इति वक्ष्यामि

If so, I shall say *pratyayē* which is *aiādi*.

प्रत्यये इति चेत् कृत्येजन्तनामधातुष्वभ्यासरूपम्

If it is contrued as *ajādāu pratyayē*, (non-achievement of) the *abhyāsarūpa* in *kṛt*, *ējanta* and *nāmadhātu*.

प्रत्यय इति चेत् कृत्येजन्तनामधातुष्वभ्यासरूपं न सिद्ध्यति । दिवादय एके परिहृताः ।

If it is construed as *ajādāu pratyayē*, the *abhyāsarūpa* in *kṛt*, *ējanta* and *nāmadhātu* cannot be achieved. *Divādis* alone are avoided.

एवं तर्हि द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽच्यजादेशः स्थानिवदिति वक्ष्यामि

If so, I shall state that the *sūtra* means '*Dvirvacananimittē aci ajādēśaḥ sthānivat.*'

स तर्हि निमित्तशब्द उपादेयः । न ह्यन्तरेण निमित्तशब्दं निमित्तार्थो गम्यते ।

If so, the word *nimitta* has to be read for the meaning of *nimitta* cannot be secured; without the word *nimitta*.

अन्तरेणापि निमित्तशब्दं निमित्तार्थो गम्यते

The meaning of the word *nimitta* is secured even without the word *nimitta*.

तद्यथा - दधित्रपुसं प्रत्यक्षो ज्वरः - ज्वरनिमित्तमिति गम्यते । नड्वलोदकं पादरोगः - पादरोगनिमित्तमिति गम्यते । आयुर्घृतम् - आयुषो निमित्तमिति गम्यते ।

This may be illustrated thus:—Curd and tin are immediate fever; it is suggested that they are cause of fever. Water full of reeds is foot-disease; it is suggested that it causes foot-disease. Melted butter is longevity of life; it is suggested that it produces longevity of life.

NOTE:—It is clear that the above expressions are cases of *lakṣaṇāvṛtti*; but there is nothing to suggest in the *sūtra* that *lakṣaṇā* plays its part there.

अथ वाऽकारो मत्वर्थीयः, द्विर्वचनमस्मिन्नस्ति सोऽयं द्विर्वचनः, द्विर्वचने इति

Or, the suffix *a* has *matvartha*, so that *dvirvacanē* is taken as the seventh case of *dvirvacanaḥ* which is derived thus:—*dvirvacanam asmin asti.*

एवमपि न ज्ञायते, कियन्तमसौ कालं स्थानिवद्भवतीति

Even then it is not known how long it will have *sthānivattva.*

यः पुनराह द्विर्वचने कर्तव्ये इति, कृते तस्य द्विर्वचने स्थानिवन्न भविष्यति ।

In the opinion of him who holds that *dvirvacanē* means *dvirvacanē kartavyē,* there will be no *sthānivattva* after the doubling is done.

एवं तर्हि, प्रतिषेधः प्रकृतः, सोऽनुवर्तिष्यते

If so, the context deals with *pratiṣēdha* and it is taken here.

क्व प्रकृतः ?

What is the *sūtra* in the context where *pratiṣēdha* is found?

न पदान्तद्विर्वचनेति The *sūtra* '*Na padāntadvirvacana...*'

द्विर्वचननिमित्ते अचि अजादेशो न भवति इति

(The *sūtra* means:–) There is no *ajādēśa* before a vowel causing doubling.

एवमपि न ज्ञायते कियन्तमसौ कालमादेशो न भवति इति

Even then it is not known how long *ādēśa* will not set in.

यः पुनराह द्विर्वचने कर्तव्ये इति, कृते तस्य द्विर्वचने अजादेशो भविष्यति ।

In the opinion of him who takes it to mean '*dvirvacanē kartavyē*' *ajādēśa* sets in after doubling.

एवं तर्हि, उभयमनेन क्रियते - प्रत्ययश्च विशेष्यते, द्विर्वचनं च

If so, both are done with this:—The *pratyaya* is qualified and doubling too.

कथं पुनरेकेन यत्नेनोभयं लभ्यम्?

How is it possible to strike two birds at one stroke?

लभ्यमित्याह "It is possible" says he.

कथम्? How?

एकशेषनिर्देशात्[1] - Through *ēkaśēṣanirdēśa*.

1. Bombay Edition takes this as *bhāṣya*.

एकशेषनिर्देशोऽयम् - द्विर्वचनं च द्विर्वचनञ्च द्विर्वचनम् । द्विर्वचने च कर्तव्ये द्विर्वचनेऽचि प्रत्यय इति ; द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽचि स्थानिवद्भवति [1]

This is *ēkaśēṣanirdēśa* thus:—*dvirvacanam ca, dvirvacanam ca dvirvacanam. Dvirvacanē* means *dvirvacanē ca kartavyē dvirvacanē aci pratyayē,* so that the *sūtra* means that there is *sthānivattva* when a vowel causing doubling follows.

द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽचि स्थानिवदिति चेण्णौ स्थानिवद्वचनम्

If it is interpreted '*dvirvacananimittē aci sthānivat,* need for mention of *sthānivattva* when *ṇic* follows.

द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽचि स्थानिवद् इति चेण्णौ स्थानिवद्भावो वक्तव्यः, अवनुनावयिष्यति अवचुक्षावयिष्यति

If it is interpreted '*dvirvacananimittē aci sthānivat, sthānivattva* need be said when *ṇic* follows to secure the forms *avanunāvayiṣyati* and *avacukṣāvayiṣyati*.

NOTE :—*Avanunāvayiṣyati* and *avacukṣāvayiṣyati* are the forms of the roots *nu* with *ava* and *kṣu* with *ava* followed by *ṇic* and *san.*

न वक्तव्यः No, it need not be said.

ओः पुयण्जिषु वचनं ज्ञापकं णौ स्थानिवद्भावस्य

The mention of *u* being replaced by *i* when followed by *pu, yaṇ* and *jakāra* is *jñāpaka* for the *sthānivattva* when *ṇic* follows.

यदयम् 'ओः पुयण्ज्यपरे' इत्याह, तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवति णौ स्थानिवद् [2] इति

Because *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) has read the *sūtra* '*Ōḥ puyaṇjyaparē*' (7, 4, 80), he suggests that there is *sthānivadbhāva* when *ṇic* follows.

यद्येतज्ज्ञाप्यते - अचिकीर्तत् - अत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If it is suggested, it chances to appear even in *acikīrtat.*

तुल्यजातीयस्य ज्ञापकम्

Suggestion is only with reference to those of the same class.

1. Bombay Edition omits द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽचि स्थानिवद्भवति
2. Bombay Edition reads स्थानिवद्भावः

कश्च तुल्यजातीयः? Which is of the same class?

यथाजातीयकाः पुयण्जयः

Those that are similar to *pu*, *yaṇ* and *j*.

कथंजातीयकाश्चैते? Of what feature are they?

अवर्णपराः They are followed by *avarṇa*.

कथं जग्ले मम्ले?

How are the forms *jaglē* and *mamlē* to be secured?

अनैमित्तिकमात्वं, शिति तु प्रतिषेधः

Ātva is not due to the following vowel; but there is *pratiṣēdha* in *śit*.

II

कानि पुनरस्य योगस्य प्रयोजनानि?

What are the benefits accrued from the *sūtra*?

पपतुः पपुः, तस्थतुः तस्थुः, जग्मतुः जग्मुः, आटिटत् आशिशत्, चक्रतुः चक्रुः इति। अल्लोपोपधालोपणिलोपयणादेशेषु कृतेष्वनच्कत्वाद् द्विर्वचनं न प्राप्नोति, स्थानिवद्भावाद्भवति।

Doubling has no chance to appear on account of the absence of a vowel in the roots *pā* and *sthā* after the elision of *ā* (by the *sūtra* '*Ātō lōpa iṭi ca*' (6, 4, 64), in the root *gam* after the elision of the penultimate (by the *sūtra* '*Gamahana....*' (6, 4, 98), in the roots *aṭ* and *aś* after the elision of *ṇic* and in the root *kṛ* after *yaṇādēśa* and it does appear through *sthānivadbhāva*, so that the following forms are secured:-*Papatuḥ papuḥ, tasthatuḥ tasthuḥ, jagmatuḥ jagmuḥ, āṭiṭat āśiśat, cakratuḥ* and *cakruḥ*.

नैतानि सन्ति प्रयोजनानि; पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेनाप्येतानि सिद्धानि

These are not the *prayōjanas,* since they are secured through *pūrvavipratiṣēdha*.

कथम्? How?

वक्ष्यति ह्याचार्यः द्विर्वचनं यणयवायावादेशाल्लोपोपधालोपणिलोपकिकिनोरुत्वेभ्यः इति।

Ācārya (*Vārttikakāra*) is going to read the following *vārttika* (under 6, 1, 12) '*Dvirvacanam yaṇ-ay-av-āy-āv-ādēśa-āllōpa-upadhā-lōpa-ṇilōpa-ki-kinōr-utvēbhyaḥ.*'

स पूर्वविप्रतिषेधो न पठितव्यो भवति

That *pūrvavipratiṣēdha* need not be read.

किं पुनरत्र ज्यायः? Which is better here?

स्थानिवद्भाव एव ज्यायान्, पूर्वविप्रतिषेधे हि सतीदं वक्तव्यं स्यात् 'ओदौदादेशस्य उद्भवति चटुतुशरादेरभ्यासस्य इति'

Sthānivattva alone is better. For, if *pūrvavipratiṣēdha* is resorted to, there is need to mention '*Ōd--āud-ādēśasya ud bhavati ca-ṭu-tu-śarādēr abhyāsasya*'.

ननु च त्वयापीत्त्वं वक्तव्यम्

Oh! you too have to provide for *ittva* by reading the *sūtra* '*ōḥ puyaṇjyaparē*' (7, 4, 80).

परार्थं मम भविष्यति सन्यत इद्भवतीति

In my case it is intended for what follows:—*sru* etc. mentioned in '*śravati*... (7, 4, 81) has *u* replaced by *it* mentioned in the *sūtra* '*Sanyataḥ*' (7, 4, 79).

ममापि तर्हि उत्वं परार्थं भविष्यति 'उत्परस्यातः ति च' इति

If so, the *utva*, in my opinion, is intended for what follows:— '*Utparasyātaḥ*' (7, 4, 88) '*Ti ca*' (7, 4, 89).

इत्त्वमपि त्वया वक्तव्यम् यत्समानाश्रयं तदर्थम् उत्पिपविषते, संयियविषति इत्येवमर्थम् । तस्मात् स्थानिवद् इत्येष एव पक्षो ज्यायान्

Ittva too has to be mentioned by you for the sake of *utpipaviṣatē*, *saṁyiyaviṣati* which stand on the same footing. Therefore the *sthānivadbhāvapakṣa* alone is better.

NOTE:—The expression *sarvēṣṭalakṣyasiddhiḥ* mentioned at the end of *Pradīpa* by *Kāiyaṭa* suggests, in the opinion of some, that the first eight *āhnikas* alone were read by many of the *Vāiyākaraṇas*. It may be noted that he uses the expression—*Siddham iṣṭam*—at the end of the work (i. e.) at the end of the eighty-fifth *āhnika*.

EIGHTH ĀHNIKA ENDS

Ninth Āhnika

अदर्शनं लोपः (1-1-60)

There are only *two* topics here :—(1) Establishing the *saṁjñā* to the meaning of *adarśana* and avoiding *anyōnyāśrayatā*. (2) How to avoid the *saṁjñā* wherever there is *adarśana.*

I

लोपसंज्ञायामर्थसंज्ञाकरणम्

With reference to *lōpasaṁjñā*, it should be given to *artha*.

अर्थस्य संज्ञा कर्तव्या, शब्दस्य मा भूद् इति

The designation should be given to the meaning (conveyed by the word *adarśana*), so that it may not go to the word *adarśana*.

इतरेतराश्रयं च Interdependence too.

इतरेतराश्रयं च भवति It gives room to interdependence too.

का इतरेतराश्रयता? How chances the interdependence?

सतोऽदर्शनस्य संज्ञया भवितव्यं, संज्ञया चादर्शनं भाव्यते, तदेतदितरेतराश्रयं भवति । इतरेतराश्रयाणि च कार्याणि न प्रकल्पन्ते ।

There should be *adarśana* so that *saṁjñā* may be given to it; and through *saṁjñā* it is made to exist. This is interdependence. Deeds which are interdependent are not accomplished.

लोपसंज्ञायामर्थसतोरुक्तम्

With reference to *lōpasaṁjñā*, it is given to *artha* and to that which exists.

किमुक्तम्? To what is it given?

अर्थस्य तावदुक्तम्, इतिकरणोऽर्थनिर्देशार्थ इति

It is first given to *artha*, since the word *iti* is intended to denote *artha*.

NOTE :—*Mahābhāṣyakāra* opines that there is here the *anuvṛtti* for the word *iti* from the *sūtra* '*Na vēti vibhāṣā*' (1, 1, 44), so that this *sūtra* reads *adarśanam iti lōpaḥ*, where *adarśanam iti* should invariably denote, according to *Sūtrakāra*

the meaning of *adarśanam*. *Kāiyaṭa* gives an alternate solution by suggesting that the designation which is *anvartha* suggests it. *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* assigns for the same the reason '*asambaddhapadavyavāyāt na anuvṛttiḥ*.'

सतोऽप्युक्तं 'सिद्धं तु नित्यशब्दत्वात्' इति । नित्याः शब्दाः । नित्येषु च शब्देषु सतोऽदर्शनस्य संज्ञा क्रियते, न संज्ञया अदर्शनं भाव्यते ।

It (*saṁjñā*) is also given to that which exists, since *śabda* is *siddha* on account of its *nityatva*. *Śabdas* are *nitya*. When *śabdas* are *nitya*, *saṁjñā* is given to the *adarśana* which exists and its existence is not brought out by the *saṁjñā*.

II

सर्वप्रसङ्गस्तु सर्वस्यान्यत्रादृष्टत्वात्

Chance for the *adarśana* of all to get the *saṁjñā*, since they are not found in places other than those where they exist.

सर्वप्रसङ्गस्तु भवति । सर्वस्यादर्शनस्य लोपसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति ।

It has a chance to be given to the *adarśana* of all. *Lōpasaṁjñā* chances to be applied to the *adarśana* of all.

किं कारणम्? Why?

सर्वस्यान्यत्रादृष्टत्वात् । सर्वो हि शब्दो यो यस्य प्रयोगविषयः स ततोऽन्यत्र न दृश्यते । त्रपु, जतु इत्यत्राणोऽदर्शनम् - तत्रादर्शनं लोप इति लोपसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति ।

Since all are not found elsewhere. For all words are not found in places where they are not used. *Aṇ* is not found in *trapu* and *jatu* and hence it may get the *lōpasaṁjñā* on the dictum '*Adarśanam lōpaḥ*.'

तत्र को दोषः? What harm is there?

तत्र प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधः

(Need for) the prohibition of *pratyayalakṣaṇakārya* there.

तत्र प्रत्ययलक्षणं कार्यं प्राप्नोति, तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । 'अचो ञ्णिति' इति वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति

There is chance, then, for the *kārya* pertaining to the *pratyaya* to operate and it is to be prohibited. *Vṛddhi* by the *sūtra* '*Acō ñṇiti*' chances to appear (in *trapu* and *jatu*).

नैष दोषः । ञ्णित्यङ्गस्याचो वृद्धिरुच्यते । यस्मात् प्रत्ययविधिः तदादि प्रत्ययेऽङ्गं भवति । यस्माच्चात्र प्रत्ययविधिः न तत् प्रत्यये परतः, यच्च प्रत्यये परतो न तस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिः ।

This difficulty does not arise. *Vṛddhi* is mentioned to the vowel in the *aṅga* when *ñit* or *ṇit* follows. *Aṅga* is that which commences with that after which there is *pratyayavidhi*. That after which there is *pratyayavidhi* here is not followed by that *pratyaya* (*ṇit*); that after which there is that *pratyaya*, there is no *pratyayavidhi*.

NOTE:—The case-suffix *su* is enjoined after *trapu*.

क्विपस्तर्हि अदर्शनम् । तत्र अदर्शनं लोपः इति लोपसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति ।

There is, then, *adarśana* for *kvip*. The *saṁjñā lōpa* chances to appear there by the *sūtra* '*Adarśanam lōpaḥ*.'

तत्र को दोषः? What is the harm there?

तत्र प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधः - तत्र प्रत्ययलक्षणं कार्यं प्राप्नोति, तस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुग् इति तुक् प्राप्नोति ।

Pratyayalakṣaṇapratiṣēdha then—There is chance for *pratyayalakṣaṇakārya* to operate there and it should be prohibited. The *āgama tuk* chances to appear (after *trapu*) by the *sūtra* '*Hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* (6, 1, 71).

सिद्धं तु प्रसक्तादर्शनस्य लोपसंज्ञत्वात् [1]

The desired object is achieved since the *lōpasaṁjñā* is given to the disappearance of one which has a chance to exist.

सिद्धमेतत् This (the desired object) is achieved.

कथम्? How?

प्रसक्तादर्शनं लोपसंज्ञं भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

It must be said that *prasaktādarśana* gets the *lōpasaṁjñā*.

यदि प्रसक्तादर्शनं लोपसंज्ञं भवतीत्युच्यते, ग्रामणीः सेनानीः अत्र वृद्धिः प्राप्नोति

If it is said that *prasaktādarśana* gets the *lōpasaṁjñā*, there is chance for *vṛddhi* in *grāmaṇīḥ* and *sēnānīḥ*.

1. Benares Edition reads लोपसंज्ञित्वात्

NOTE:—There is chance for *aṇ* to come after *grāmaṇī* and *sēnānī* by the *sūtra Karmaṇyaṇ*.

प्रसक्तादर्शनं लोपसंज्ञं भवति षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य

Prasaktādarśana which is *ṣaṣṭhīnirdiṣṭa* gets the *lōpasaṁjñā*.

Note:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here '*Ṣaṣṭhīgrahaṇam api anuvartatē*' and *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* reads, '*Tacca ṣaṣṭhyantam vāiyadhikaraṇyēna. adarśanānvayīti bōdhyam.*'

I

यदि षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्येत्युच्यते 'चाह लोप एवेत्यवधारणं, 'चादिलोपे विभाषा' इत्यत्र लोपसंज्ञा न प्राप्नोति ।

If it is said of *ṣaṣṭhīnirdiṣṭa*, there is no chance for *lōpa-saṁjñā* in '*Cāhalōpa ēvētyavadhāraṇam*' (8, 1, 62) and '*Cādi-lōpē vibhāṣā*' (8, 1, 63).

अथ प्रसक्तादर्शनं लोपसंज्ञं भवतीत्युच्यमाने कथमेवैतत् सिध्यति ?

If it is said that *prasaktādarśana* gets the *lōpasaṁjñā*, how can that *saṁjñā* appear here?

NOTE:—Since no *sūtra* enjoins *lōpa* to *ca*, *aha* etc., the word *lōpa* in those *sūtras* merely means *aprayōga*.

को हि शब्दस्य प्रसङ्गः ?

What is, then, meant by the *prasaṅga* of *śabda*?

यत्र गम्यते चार्थो न च प्रयुज्यते

The place where the word is not used, but its meaning exists

अस्तु तर्हि प्रसक्तादर्शनं लोपसंज्ञं भवतीत्येव ।

Let it then be that *prasaktādarśana* alone gets the *lōpasaṁjñā*.

कथं ग्रामणीः सेनानीः ?

How is one to meet with the objection raised about *grāmaṇīḥ* and *sēnānīḥ*?

योऽत्र अणः प्रसङ्गः क्विपासौ बाध्यते ।

The *prasakti* of *aṇ* here is set at naught by *kvip*.

प्रत्ययस्य लुक्श्लुलुपः (1-1-61)

The *prayōjana* of the mention of *pratyayasya* is the *only* topic dealt with here.

प्रत्ययग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What for is the word *pratyayasya* in the *sūtra*?

लुमति प्रत्ययग्रहणम् अप्रत्ययसंज्ञाप्रतिषेधार्थम्

Mention of *pratyayasya* in connection with *luk*, *ślu* and *lup* is to prohibit the *saṁñjās* to *apratyayas*

लुमति प्रत्ययग्रहणं क्रियते, अप्रत्ययस्यैताः संज्ञा मा भूवन्निति ।

The word *pratyayasya* is read with reference to *lumat*, so that these *saṁjñās* may not go to the *adarśana* where *pratyaya* is non-existent.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? What is the use of it?

प्रयोजनं तद्धितलुकि कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्लुकि च गोप्रकृतिनिवृत्त्यर्थम्

To avoid the *luk* of *gō* when there is *taddhitaluk* and that of the stem in *kaṁsīya* and *paraśavya*.

तद्धितलुकि गोनिवृत्त्यर्थम्, कंसीयपरशव्ययोश्च लुकि प्रकृतिनिवृत्त्यर्थम् । 'लुक् तद्धितलुकि' इति गोरपि लुक् प्राप्नोति, प्रत्ययग्रहणान्न भवति । 'कंसीयःपरशव्ययोर्यञञौ लुक् च', इति प्रकृतेरपि लुक् प्राप्नोति, प्रत्ययग्रहणान्न भवति ।

The avoid the elision of *gō* when there is *taddhitaluk* and to avoid that of the stem when there is *luk* after *kaṁsīya* and *paraśavya*. From the *sūtra* '*Luk taddhitaluki*' (1, 2, 49), there is chance for *luk* to *gō* also and it is prevented by the mention of *pratyayasya* here. From the *sūtra* '*Kaṁsīyaparaśavyayōr yañañāu luk ca*' (4, 3, 168), there is chance for the *luk* of the stem of *kaṁśīya* and *paraśavya* and it is prevented by the mention of *pratyayasya* here.

NOTE:—The *ṭhak* after *pañcaguḥ* (one bought for five cows) is dropped by the *sūtra* '*Adhyardhapūrvadvigōr lug asaṁjñāyām* (5, 1, 28).

गोनिवृत्त्यर्थेन तावन्नार्थः

Firstly no purpose is served by *gōnivṛttyartha.*

योगविभागात्सिद्धम्

The object is achieved by splitting the *sūtra* into two.

योगविभागः करिष्यते - गोरुपसर्जनस्य - गोऽन्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्योपसर्जनस्य ह्रस्वो भवति । ततः स्त्रियाः - स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्योपसर्जनस्य ह्रस्वो भवति । ततो 'लुक् तद्धितलुकि' इति स्त्रिया इति वर्तते, गोरिति निवृत्तम् ।

The *sūtra* ('*Gōstriyōr upasarjanasya*' (1, 2, 48) is split into '*Gōr upasarjanasya*' which means that shortening happens to the *upasarjana* which is a stem ending in *gō* and '*Striyāḥ*' which means that shortening takes place to the *upasarjana* in the form of a stem which ends in *strīpratyaya*. Then the *sūtra* '*Luk taddhitaluki*' is read where there is *anuvṛtti* only to *striyāḥ* and not to *gōḥ* also.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that by *yōgavibhāga* here *Mahābhāṣyakāra* suggests that there is *anuvṛtti* here for a portion of the previous *sūtra*.

कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्विशिष्टनिर्देशात् सिद्धम्

Object is achieved through specific reference towards *kaṁsīya* and *paraśavya*.'

कंसीयपरशव्ययोरपि विशिष्टनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः - कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्यञञौ भवतश्छयतोश्च लुग् भवति इति

Specific mention has to be made with reference to *kaṁsīya* and *paraśavya* thus :—that *yañ* and *añ* are respectively added to *kaṁsīya* and *paraśavya* and there is *luk* to *cha* and *yat*.

स चावश्यं विशिष्टनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः । क्रियमाणेऽपि वै प्रत्ययग्रहणे उकारसकारयोः [1] मा भूदिति । 'कमेः सः' कंसः, परान् शृणाति इति परशुः

That specific mention has certainly to be made, so that, even if *pratyayasya* is read, *luk* should not happen to *sa* in *kaṁsaḥ* got from the *sūtra* '*Kamēḥ saḥ*' and *u* in *paraśu* which means that which cuts others.

NOTE :—*U* in *paraśu* is from the *sūtra* '*Aṅparayōḥ khaniśṛbhyām ṅicca*.'

नैष दोषः, उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि

This difficulty does not arise, since *uṇādis* are *avyutpanna-prātipadikas*.

1. Benares Edition reads उकारसकारशब्दयोः

NOTE:—The stems which have the *uṇādipratyaya* at the end are not generally derivable from roots.

स एषोऽनन्यार्थो विशिष्टनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः, प्रत्ययग्रहणं वा कर्तव्यम्
Specific mention which is not intended for other *pratyayas* has to be made, or *pratyayasya* has to be read.

उक्तं वा Or it has been answered.

किमुक्तम्? How has it been answered?

'ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकग्रहणमङ्गभपदसंज्ञार्थं यच्छयोश्च लुगर्थम्' इति
The mention of '*Ṅyāpprātipadikāt*' (4, 1, 1) is for the *saṁjñā* of *aṅga*, *bha* and *pada* and for the *luk* of *yat* and *cha*.

NOTE:—It deserves to be noted that under 4, 1, 1. *Mahābhāṣyakāra* reads '*Ētad api nāsti prayōjanam, yathāparibhāṣitam pratyayasya lukślulupō bhavantīti pratyayasya bhaviṣyati.*'

षष्ठीनिर्देशार्थं तु For the sake of *ṣaṣṭhīnirdēśa*.

षष्ठीनिर्देशार्थं तर्हि प्रत्ययग्रहणं कर्तव्यं, षष्ठीनिर्देशो यथा प्रकल्पेत ।
The mention of *pratyayasya* is then necessary for *ṣaṣṭhīnirdēśa*, so that the meaning of *ṣaṣṭhī* can be clearly understood.

अनिर्देशे हि षष्ठ्यर्थाप्रसिद्धिः
Non-comprehension of *ṣaṣṭhyartha* in the absence of *nirdēśa*.

अक्रियमाणे हि प्रत्ययग्रहणे षष्ठ्यर्थस्याप्रसिद्धिः स्यात्
If *pratyayasya* is not read, clear comprehension of the meaning of *ṣaṣṭhī* is not possible.

कस्य? Of what?

स्थानेयोगत्वस्य Of *sthānēyōgatva*.

क्व पुनरिह षष्ठीनिर्देशार्थेनार्थः प्रत्ययग्रहणेन, यावता सर्वत्रैव षष्ठ्युच्चार्यते, अणिञोः, तद्राजस्य, यञञोः, शपः इति
Where is this benefit of *ṣaṣṭhīnirdēśa* to *pratyayagrahaṇa* seen, since the sixth case is used everywhere, as in *Aṇiñōḥ*, *tadrājasya*, *yañañōḥ*, *śapaḥ* etc.

इह न काचित् षष्ठी, 'जनपदे लुप्' इति

There is no *ṣaṣṭhī* here in the *sūtra* '*Janapadē lup*' (4, 2, 81)

अत्रापि प्रकृतं प्रत्ययग्रहणमनुवर्तते

Here too there is *anuvṛtti* for the word *pratyaya* found in the context.

क्व प्रकृतम् ?

What is the *sūtra* in the context referred to here ?

प्रत्ययः परश्च *Pratyayaḥ* (3, 1, 1); *Paraśca* (3, 1, 2)

तद्वै प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं, षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टेन चेहार्थः

It is read in the first case and there is need of the sixth case here.

ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकाद् इत्येषा पञ्चमी प्रत्यय इति प्रथमायाः षष्ठीं प्रकल्पयिष्यति, तस्मादित्युत्तरस्येति ।

The fifth case in *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* enables, with the help of the *paribhāṣā* '*Tasmād ityuttarasya*', the first case in *pratyaya* to be changed to sixth case.

प्रत्ययविधिरयं, न च प्रत्ययविधौ पञ्चम्यः प्रकल्पिका भवन्ति

This is *pratyayavidhi* and *pañcamīs* have no part to play in *pratyayavidhi*.

नायं प्रत्ययविधिः । विहितः प्रत्ययः प्रकृतश्चानुवर्तते

This is not a case of *pratyayavidhi*. *Pratyaya* has been enjoined and the context is adhered to.

सर्वादेशार्थं वा वचनप्रामाण्यात्

To act as the *ādēśa* of the whole through the *sāmarthya* of (its) mention

सर्वादेशार्थं तर्हि प्रत्ययग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्; लुक्श्लुलुपः सर्वादेशा यथा स्युः

Mention of *pratyayasya* is then for the sake of *sarvādēśa*, so that *luk*, *ślu* and *lup* may serve as *sarvādēśas*.

अथ क्रियमाणेऽपि प्रत्ययग्रहणे कथमिव लुक्श्लुलुपः सर्वादेशा लभ्याः ?

How is it ascertained that *luk*, *ślu* and *lup* are *sarvādēśas* even if *pratyayasya* is mentioned ?

वचनप्रामाण्यात् - प्रत्ययग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्

Through the authority of its mention (i. e) through the *sāmarthya* of the reading of *pratyayasya.*

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति लुक्श्लुलुपः सर्वादेशा भवन्ति इति यदयं 'लुग्वा दुहदिहलिहगुहामात्मनेपदे दन्त्ये' इति लोपे प्रकृते लुकं शास्ति ।

This too cannot serve as *prayōjana.* The procedure of *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests that *luk, ślu* and *lup* can be only *sarvādēśas,* since he reads the word *luk* in the *sūtra* '*Lug vā duhadihalihaguhām ātmanēpadē dantyē*' (7, 3, 73) though there is chance for the *anuvṛtti* of the word *lōpa* (from the *sūtra* '*Ghōr lōpō lēṭi vā*' (7, 3, 70).

उत्तरार्थं तु

For the sake of the following *sūtra* then.

उत्तरार्थं तर्हि प्रत्ययग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

There is, then, need to read *pratyayasya* for the sake of the following *sūtra.*

क्रियते तत्रैव प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् इति

It is evidently read there thus '*pratyayalōpē pratyayalakṣaṇam.*'

द्वितीयं कर्तव्यम्; कृत्स्नप्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणं यथा स्याद्, एकदेशलोपे मा भूद् इति - आघ्नीत, संरायस्पोषेण ग्मीय इति ॥

It should be read once more, so that it may be taken that *pratyayalakṣaṇa* operates only when there is elision for the whole *pratyaya* and not where a part of it alone elides, as in *āghnīta* and *gmīya* in *saṁrāyaspōṣēṇa gmīya.*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads :–'*Āghnīta iti—paratvāt upadhālōpē kṛtē punaḥprasaṅgavijñānāt anunāsikalōpaḥ syāt! Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* reads, '*Saṁgmīya iti—jhalādiṅitparatvāt anunāsikalōpaḥ syāt*'.

प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् (1-1-62)

Four topics are dealt with here :—(1) the need of *pratyaya* in *pratyayalōpē,* (2) the need of *pratyaya* in *pratyayalakṣaṇam,* (3) the need for this *sūtra* and (4) the benefits of this *sūtra.*

I

प्रत्ययग्रहणं किमर्थम् ? What for is the expression *pratyaya*?

'लोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम्' इति इयत्युच्यमाने सौरथी वैहती इति गुरूपोत्तमलक्षणः ष्यङ् प्रसज्येत

If the *sūtra* is read only as *Lōpē pratyayalakṣaṇam*, there is chance for the *pratyaya ṣyaṅ* which appears when the penultimate is *guru* to appear in the words *sāurathī* and *vāihatī* by the *sūtra* '*Aṇiñōr anārṣayōr gurūpōttamayōḥ ṣyaṅ gōtrē*' (4,1,78).

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads:—*Surathasya vihatasya ca apatyam gōtram strīti iñi kṛtē, makāranakārayōr bhāvē yathā gurūpōttamattvāt ṣyaṅ bhavati, ēvam lōpēpi syāt. Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* supplements it:—*Ramēḥ kthani, hantēśca ktē, anudāttōpēti* (6, 4, 37) *anunāsikalōpē, agurūpōttamattvād aprāptaḥ ṣyaṅ atidēśataḥ syād ityarthaḥ.*

नैष दोषः This difficulty does not arise.

नैवं विज्ञायते, लोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणं भवति - प्रत्ययस्य प्रादुर्भाव इति

The word *pratyayalakṣaṇa* in '*lōpē pratyayalakṣaṇam*' is not taken as *tatpuruṣa* compound with the word *lakṣaṇa* meaning *prādurbhāva* (appearance).

कथं तर्हि ? How then?

प्रत्ययो लक्षणं यस्य कार्यस्य तल्लुप्तेऽपि भवति ।

It is taken as *bahuvrīhi* compound meaning the *kārya* which has *pratyaya* for its *nimitta* and consequently *lōpē pratyayalakṣaṇam* means that the *kārya* which has *pratyaya* for its *nimitta* operates even when the *pratyaya* has elided.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - सति प्रत्यये यत् प्राप्नोति तत् प्रत्ययलक्षणेन[1] यथा स्यात्, लोपोत्तरकालं यत् प्राप्नोति तत् प्रत्ययलक्षणेन[1] मा भूद् इति ।

This, then, is the *prayōjana* of the presence of *pratyaya* that what has a chance to appear in the presence of the *pratyaya* appears even in its absence through *pratyayalakṣaṇa* and what has a chance to appear after the elision of the *pratyaya* does not appear through *pratyayalakṣaṇa*.

1. प्रत्ययलक्षणम् - Chawkhamba and Bombay editions.

किं प्रयोजनम्? What is the benefit (of such an interpretation)?

ग्रामणिकुलं, सेनानिकुलम् इत्यत्र औत्तरपदिके ह्रस्वत्वे कृते, ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक् इति तुक् प्राप्नोति, स मा भूद् इति

In the words *grāmaṇikulam* and *sēnānikulam tuk* which has a chance to appear by the *sūtra* '*Hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk*' (6,1,71) after *ī* of *grāmaṇī* and *sēnānī* is shortened on account of a word following them, does not make its appearance.

NOTE :—1. Shortening of *ī* is by the *sūtra* '*Ikō hrasvōऽṅyō Gālavasya*' (6, 3, 61).

NOTE :—2. Here *pratyayalōpē* is not a compound word, but is a phrase made up of two words *pratyaya* and *lōpē*, where *pratyaya* has its seventh case suffix dropped.

यदि तर्हि यत् सति प्रत्यये प्राप्नोति तत् प्रत्ययलक्षणेन भवति, लोपोत्तरकालं यत् प्राप्नोति तन्न भवति, जगत् जनगत् इत्यत्र तुग् न प्राप्नोति, लोपोत्तरकालं ह्यत्र तुगागमः । तस्मान्नार्थ एवमर्थेन प्रत्ययग्रहणेन ।

If, then, it is taken that what appears in the presence of the *pratyaya* appears even in its absence through *pratyayalakṣaṇa* and what appears after its elision does not appear through *pratyayalakṣaṇa*, there is no chance for the *āgama tuk* in *jagat* and *janagat*, since it can appear only after the elision of the *pratyaya*. Hence there is no use of giving this interpretation for the presence of the word *pratyaya* in *pratyayalōpē*.

कस्मान्न भवति, ग्रामणिकुलं सेनानिकुलम्?

How does not *tuk* appear in *grāmaṇikulam* and *sēnānikulam* ?

बहिरङ्गं ह्रस्वत्वम्, अन्तरङ्गस्तुक्, असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ।

Shortening is *bahiraṅga* and *tuk* is *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga* is *asiddha* when *antaraṅga* operates.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनं - कृत्स्नप्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणं यथा स्याद्, एकदेशलोपे मा भूदिति - आघ्नीत, संरायस्पोषेण ग्मीय ।

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that *pratyayalakṣaṇa* operates when the whole *pratyaya* elides and not its part, as in *āghnīta* and in *gmīya* of *sam rāyaspōṣēṇa gmīya*.

पूर्वस्मिन्नपि योगे प्रत्ययग्रहणस्यैतत्प्रयोजनमुक्तम् ।

This was said to be the *prayōjana* for reading *pratyayasya* in the previous *sūtra* also.

अन्यतरच्छक्यमकर्तुम्

It is possible to delete either of the two.

NOTE :—The concluding portion of the *bhāṣya* under the previous *sūtra* makes us infer that *Vārttikakāra* thinks that all the three—*pratyayasya* and *pratyaya* in *pratyayalōpē* and *pratyayalakṣaṇam*—are necessary and the previous sentence here suggests that *Mahābhāṣyakāra* is prepared to dispense with *pratyayasya* or *pratyaya* in *pratyayalōpē*.

II

अथ द्वितीयं प्रत्ययग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What for is then the word *pratyaya* read for the second time (in *pratyayalakṣaṇam*) ?

प्रत्ययलक्षणं यथा स्यात्, वर्णलक्षणं मा भूदिति । गवे हितं गोहितं, रायः कुलं रैकुलम् इति ।

So that the *kārya* depending upon *pratyaya* may set in and not that depending upon a *letter*. For example the *ādēśas av* and *āy* which replace *ō* and *āi* in *gō* and *rāi* when they are respectively followed by the fourth case suffix and the sixth case suffix do not replace them when the case-suffixes are dropped in the compound words *gōhitam* and *rāikulam.*

NOTE :—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* explains *pratyayalakṣaṇam* and *varṇalakṣaṇam* thus :—*pratyayatva-tadvyāpya-anyataradharmāvacchinnalakṣaṇam* and *varṇatvavyāpyadharmāvacchinnanimittam* and also states that the *sūtra* may be read *pratyayalōpēऽpi.*

III

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते ? Why is this *sūtra* read ?

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads '*Sthānivadbhāvēna siddham iti bhāvaḥ*'.

प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणवचनं सदन्वाख्यानाच्छास्त्रस्य

Reading of *Pratyayalōpē pratyayalakṣaṇam* on account of the *śāstra* explaining what exists.

प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणमित्युच्यते

The *sūtra* '*Prtayayalōpē pratyayalakṣaṇam*' is read.

सदन्वाख्यानाच्छास्त्रस्य - सत् शास्त्रेण अन्वाख्यायते, सतो वा शास्त्रम् अन्वाख्यायकं भवति

On account of the *śāstra* explaining what exists—that which exists is explained (by *Ācārya*) through *śāstra*, or *śāstra* explains what already exists.

सदन्वाख्यानाच्छास्त्रस्य, 'उगिदचां सर्वनामस्थानेऽधातोः' इति इहैव स्यात् गोमन्तौ यवमन्तौ, गोमान् यवमान् इत्यत्र न स्यात् । इष्यते च स्यादिति । तच्च अन्तरेण यत्नं न सिध्यति । अतः प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणवचनम् इति । एवमर्थमिदमुच्यते ॥

Since the *śāstra* explains only what exists, the *sūtra* '*Ugidacām sarvanāmasthānēsdhātōḥ*' (7, 1, 70) will operate only with reference to *gōmantāu* and *yavamantāu* and not with reference to *gōmān* and *yavamān*; but it is desired that it should operate there also. Since it cannot be accomplished without a special effort, the *sūtra* '*Pratyayalōpē pratyayalakṣaṇam*' is read. It is read only for this.

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत्? Is this the *prayōjana*?

किं तर्हीति? If not, what is it?

लुक्युपसङ्ख्यानम् Addition of *luki*.

लुकि उपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - पञ्च, सप्त

Addition of *luki* is necessary (in the *sūtra*), so that *pañca* and *sapta* (can secure *padasaṁjñā*).

NOTE:—*Luki* is *upalakṣaṇa* to *ślulupāu*.

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति?

Why is it not accomplished (when there is *luk*)?

लोपे हि विधानम्

For the *vidhāna* is only with reference to *lōpa*.

लोपे हि प्रत्ययलक्षणं विधीयते

For *pratyayalakṣaṇa* is enjoined only when there is *lōpa.*

तेन लुकि न प्राप्नोति

Therefore it does not operate when there is *luk.*

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* says that the *takrakāuṇḍinyanyāya* operates here and hence there is *bādhana* for *lōpasaṁjñā* by *lugādisaṁjñā.*

न वादर्शनस्य लोपसंज्ञित्वात्

Not necessary, *adarśana* being the *saṁjñin* of *lōpa.*

न वा कर्तव्यम् It need not be read.

किं कारणम्? Why?

अदर्शनस्य लोपसंज्ञित्वात्। अदर्शनं लोपसंज्ञं भवतीत्युच्यते। लुमत्संज्ञाश्चाप्यदर्शनस्य क्रियन्ते; तेन लुक्यपि भविष्यति।

Adarśana being the *saṁjñin* of *lōpa.* It is said that *adarśana* gets the *lōpasaṁjñā*; and *lumatsaṁjñās* also are enjoined to *adarśana*; and hence it will chance to happen even with reference to *luk.*

यद्येवम् - If so,

प्रत्ययादर्शनं तु लुमत्संज्ञम्

The *adarśana* of *pratyaya,* then, chances to take any of *lumatsaṁjñās.*

प्रत्ययादर्शनं तु लुमत्संज्ञमपि प्राप्नोति

The *adarśana* of *pratyaya* chances to take any of *lumatsaṁjñās.*

तत्र को दोषः? What is the harm then?

तत्र लुकि श्लुविधिः प्रतिषेध्यः

Śluvidhi is then to be prohibited when there is *luk.*

तत्र लुकि श्लुविधिः प्राप्नोति, स प्रतिषेध्यः। अत्ति हन्ति, श्लौ इति द्विर्वचनं प्राप्नोति।

Śluvidhi, then, has a chance to operate when there is *luk;* and it is to be prohibited. Doubling will chance to happen by the *sūtra* '*Ślāu*' (6, 1, 10) in the forms *atti* and *hanti.*

न वा पृथक्संज्ञाकरणात्
No, on account of the creation of special *saṁjñā.*

न वैष दोषः This difficulty cannot arise.

किं कारणम्? Why?

पृथक्संज्ञाकरणात् - पृथक्संज्ञाकरणसामर्थ्याल्लुकि श्लुविधिर्न भविष्यति ।
On account of the making of special *saṁjñā* :-*śluvidhi* does not chance to happen where there is *luk* on account of the capacity of *pṛthaksaṁjñākaraṇa.*

तस्माददर्शनसामान्याल्लोपसंज्ञा लुमत्संज्ञा अवगाहते
Hence *lōpasaṁjñā* takes within its range the *lumatsaṁjñās* also on account of their connoting *adarśana* in general.

यथैव तर्हि अदर्शनसामान्याल्लोपसंज्ञा लुमत्संज्ञा अवगाहते, एवं लुमत्संज्ञा अपि लोपसंज्ञामवगाहेरन् ।
Just as *lōpasaṁjñā* takes within its range the *lumatsaṁjñās* on account of *adarśanasāmānya,* so also may *lumatsaṁjñās* take within their range *lōpasaṁjñā.*

तत्र को दोषः? What is the harm there?

अगोमती गोमती सम्पन्ना गोमतीभूता, 'लुक् तद्धितलुकि' इति ङीपो लुक् प्रसज्येत
In the word *gōmatībhūtā* whose derivation is *agōmatī gōmatī sampannā* (where there is *lōpa* for *cvi*), *luk* may replace *ṅīp* by the *sūtra* '*Luk taddhitaluki*'.

ननु चात्रापि न वा पृथक्संज्ञाकरणाद् इत्येव सिद्धम् ।
Oh! here too, the desired object is achieved through the *vārttika Na vā pṛthaksamjñākaraṇāt*'.

यथैव तर्हि पृथक्संज्ञाकरणसामर्थ्यादत्र लुमत्संज्ञा लोपसंज्ञां ज्ञनावगाहन्ते, एवं लोपसंज्ञाऽपि लुमत्संज्ञा नावगाहेत । तत्र स एष[1] दोषो लुक्युपसंख्यानमिति ।
Just as, *lumatsaṁjñās* then do not take within their range *lōpasaṁjñā* on account of the *sāmarthya* from the creation of

1. Bombay Edition reads एव.

pṛthaksaṁjñā, so also *lōpasaṁjñā* cannot take within its range *lumatsaṁjñās*. Then the objection '*Luki upasaṅkhyānam*' that was raised stands.

अस्त्यन्यद् लोपसंज्ञायाः पृथक्संज्ञाकरणे प्रयोजनम्

There is a special purpose in making the *saṁjñās luk*, *ślu*, *lup* differentiating them from *lōpa*.

किम्? What?

लुमत्संज्ञासु यदुच्यते तल्लोपमात्रे मा भूदिति ।

That which is enjoined to *lumatsaṁjñās* may not apply to *lōpa* in general.

लुमति प्रतिषेधाद्वा

Or on account of *pratiṣēdha* in *lumat*.

अथवा यदयं 'न लुमताङ्गस्य' इति प्रत्ययलक्षणप्रतिषेधं शास्ति, तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो भवति लुकि प्रत्ययलक्षणमिति ।

Or *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests that there is *pratyayalakṣaṇa* in *luk*, since he prohibits it by the *sūtra* '*Na lumatāṅgasya*'.

सतो निमित्ताभावात् पदसंज्ञाभावः

Non-chance for *padasaṁjñā* on account of its not being *nimitta* before elision.

सन् प्रत्ययो येषां कार्याणामनिमित्तं राज्ञः पुरुष इति, स लुप्तोऽप्यनिमित्तं स्याद् राजपुरुष इति ।

The *pratyaya* which, while existing, does not stand as *nimitta* to certain *kāryas*, as *as* in *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* (with reference to *padasaṁjñā*, will not stand as *nimitta* even when it is elided, as in *rājapuruṣaḥ*.

NOTE:—1. The stem *rājan* does not get the *padasaṁjñā* before the genetive singular suffix *as* and hence does not have *n* dropped, but only has *a* dropped. When the suffix *as* is dropped in the compound word *rājapuruṣaḥ*, the same *rājan* should not get the *padasaṁjñā* so that *n* may be dropped and not *a*.

NOTE :—Having answered the first defect *Luki upasaṅkhyānam*, *Vārttikakāra* raises the second defect *Satō nimittābhāvāt padasaṁjñābhāvaḥ* with reference to the *sūtra*.

अस्तु तस्या अनिमित्तं या स्वादौ पदमिति पदसंज्ञा । या तु सुबन्तं पदम् इति पदसंज्ञा सा भविष्यति । सत्येतत् प्रत्यय आसीत्, अनया भविष्यति अनया न भविष्यति इति ।

Let it be *animitta* to the *padasaṁjñā* enjoined by the *sūtra Svādiṣu asarvanāmasthānē* (1-4, 17). But the *padasaṁjñā* enjoined by the statement *subantam padam* in the *sūtra Suptiṅantam padam* may set in. Only in the presence of the *pratyaya* there is room to say that one is secured by this and not by that.

लुप्त इदानीं प्रत्यये, यावत एवावधेः स्वादौ पदमिति पदसंज्ञा तावत एव सुबन्तं[1] पदमिति । अस्ति च प्रत्ययलक्षणेन यजादिपरतेति कृत्वा भसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति ।

When the *pratyaya* has now been elided, the portion which gets the *padasaṁjñā* by '*Svādiṣu...*' is the same as that which gets the same *saṁjñā* by '*Subantam padam*'. We take that it is followed by the suffix *yajādi* and make it take the *bhasaṁjñā* through *pratyayalakṣaṇa*.

तुग्दीर्घत्वयोश्च विप्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिरेकयोगलक्षणत्वात् परिवीरिति ।

Inappropriateness of *vipratiṣēdha* between *tuk* and *dīrghatva* on account of *ēkayōgalakṣaṇatva*, as in *parivīḥ*.

तुग्दीर्घत्वयोश्च विप्रतिषेधो नोपपद्यते

Vipratiṣēdha between *tuk* and *dīrghatva* does not suit.

क्व ? Where ?

परिवीरिति In *parivīḥ*.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

1. Benares Edition reads वावधेः before सुबन्तम्

एकयोगलक्षणत्वात् - एकयोगलक्षणे हि तुग्दीर्घत्वे । इह लुप्ते प्रत्यये सर्वाणि प्रत्ययाश्रयाणि कार्याणि पर्यवपन्नानि भवन्ति, तान्येतेन प्रत्युत्थाप्यन्ते । अनेनैव तुग् अनेनैव च दीर्घत्वमिति, तदेकयोगलक्षणं भवति ; एकयोगलक्षणानि च न प्रकल्पन्ते

On account of having the same *sūtra* as *nimitta.* For *tuk* and *dīrghatva* have the same *sūtra* as *nimitta.* As soon as the *pratyaya* is elided, all the operations depending upon it die and they are endowed with fresh life by this *sūtra.* Since *tuk* appears on account of this and *dīrghatva* too on account of this, they become *ēkayōgalakṣaṇam* and the operations of those which are *ēkayōgalakṣaṇa* cannot be effected.

NOTE :—*Parivīḥ* is the nom. sing. of the stem formed by the addition of the root *vyēñ* preceded by the preposition *pari* with the *pratyaya kvip. Kvip* is dropped, *y* of *vyē* takes the *samprasāraṇa* by the *sūtra Vaci-svapi-yajādīnām kiti* (6, 1, 15), and *i* and *ē* take the *pūrvarūpa* by the *sūtra Samprasāraṇācca* (6, 1, 108). On account of this *sūtra Pratyayalōpē pratyayalakṣaṇam*, both the *sūtras Hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* (6, 1, 71) and *Halaḥ* (6, 4, 2) have an opportunity to operate simultaneously. Finally *Halaḥ* operates thro' the dictum '*Vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam*'.

सिद्धं तु स्थानिसंज्ञानुदेशादान्यभाव्यस्य

It is achieved through the *ādēśa* getting only the *saṁjñā* of the *sthānin.*

सिद्धमेतत् It is achieved.

कथम्? How?

स्थानिसंज्ञा अन्यभूतस्य भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

It must be said that *ādēśa* gets the *saṁjñā* of the *sthānin.*

किं कृतं भवति? What is achieved by it?

सत्तामात्रमनेन क्रियते ; यथाप्राप्ते तुग्दीर्घत्वे भविष्यतः ।

The existence of the *saṁjñā* alone is achieved by it ; *tuk* and *dīrghatva* appear as they would under ordinary circumstances.

तद् वक्तव्यं भवति It has to be stated.

यद्यप्येतदुच्यते, अथवैतर्हि स्थानिवद्भावो नारभ्यते, स्थानिसंज्ञा अन्यभूतस्यानल्विधौ इति वक्ष्यामि ।

If it is so stated there is no need for the *sūtra* '*Sthānivad ādēśōsnalvidhāu.*' I shall read instead:—'*Sthānisaṁjñā anyabhūtasyānalvidhāu.*'

यद्येवम् आङो यमहन आत्मनेपदं भवतीति हन्तेरेव स्यात् वधेर्न स्यात्, न हि कश्चिद्धन्तेः संज्ञास्ति या वधेरतिदिश्येत ।

If so, the *ātmanēpada* terminations enjoined by the *sūtra* '*Āṅō yamahanaḥ*' (1, 3, 28) will hold good only to *han* and not to *vadh*, since *han* has no *saṁjñā* which can be analogized to *vadh*.

हन्तेरपि संज्ञा अस्ति There is *saṁjñā* even to *han.*

का? What?

हन्तिरेव - *Han* itself.

कथम्? How?

'स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा' इति वचनात् स्वं रूपं शब्दस्य संज्ञा भवति इति हन्तेरपि हन्तिः संज्ञा भवतीति ।

Han becomes the *saṁjñā* of *han*, since the form of a word is recognised to be its *saṁjñā* from the *sūtra* '*Svam rūpam śabdasyāśabdasaṁjñā*' (1, 1, 68).

भसंज्ञाङीप्ष्फगोरात्वेषु च सिद्धम्

The object is achieved with reference to *bhasaṁjñā, ṅīp, ṣpha* and *gōrātva* also.

भसंज्ञाङीप्ष्फगोरात्वेषु च सिद्धम् भवति

It is fruitful with reference to *bhasaṁjñā, ṅīp* and *ṣpha* and *gōrātva* also.

भसंज्ञा - राज्ञः पुरुषो राजपुरुषः । प्रत्ययलक्षणेन 'यचि भम्' इति भसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति; 'स्थानिसंज्ञान्यभूतस्यानल्विधौ' इति वचनान्न भवति । भसंज्ञा

Bhasaṁjñā with reference to *rājapuruṣaḥ*, the compound of *rāiñaḥ puruṣaḥ*. The *bhasaṁjñā* which has a chance to set in by *pratyayalakṣaṇa* is set at naught by the statement '*Sthānisaṁjñā anyabhūtasya analvidhāu.*'

ङीप् - चित्रायां जाता चित्रा । प्रत्ययलक्षणेन अणन्ताद् इति ईकारः प्राप्नोति, स्थानिसंज्ञा अन्यभूतस्यानल्विधौ इति वचनान्न भवति [1] । ङीप्

Ṅīp—In the word *Citrā* which means 'a woman born in the constellation of *citrā*, there is chance for *ī*, it being *aṇanta*, through *pratyayalakṣaṇa* and it is prevented by the statement '*Sthānisaṁjñā anyabhūtasya analvidhāu*.'

NOTE :—The *aṇ* which comes after *citrā* is dropped by the *Vārttika Citrā-rēvatī-rōhiṇībhyaḥ striyām upasaṅkhyānam* under the *sūtra* '*Luk taddhitaluki*' (4, 2, 49) and there is chance for *ṅīp* by the *sūtra* '*Ṭiḍḍhāṇañ...*' (4, 1, 15).

ष्फ - वतण्डी । प्रत्ययलक्षणेन यञन्तादिति ष्फः प्राप्नोति, स्थानिसंज्ञा अन्यभूतस्यानल्विधौ इति वचनान्न भवति । ष्फ

In the word *vataṇḍī*, the *ṣpha* which has a chance to appear on account of *yañanta* thro' *pratyayalakṣaṇa* is set at naught by the statement '*Sthānisaṁjñā anyabhūtasya analvidhāu*.'

NOTE :—The *yañ* which is enjoined after *vataṇḍa* by the *sūtra* '*Vataṇḍācca*' (4, 1, 108) is dropped by the *sūtra* '*Luk striyām*' (4, 1, 109). There is chance for *ṣpha* by the *sūtra* '*Prācām ṣpha taddhitaḥ*' (4, 1, 17). But it takes *ṅīn* by the *sūtra* '*Śārṅgaravād yañō ṅīn*' (4, 1, 73).

गोरात्वम् । गामिच्छति गव्यति । प्रत्ययलक्षणेनामि औतोऽम्शसोः इति आत्वं प्राप्नोति । स्थानिसंज्ञा अन्यभूतस्यानल्विधौ इति वचनान्न भवति । गोरात्वम्

Gōrātvam. In *gavyati* which means *gām icchati*, the *ātva* which has a chance to appear before *am* by the *sūtra* '*Āutōṁśasōḥ*' (6, 1, 93) through *pratyayalakṣaṇa* is set at naught by the statement *Sthānisaṁjñā anyabhūtasyānalvidhāu*.

तस्य दोषो ङौनकारलोपेत्त्वेम्विधयः

It is defective with reference to *ṅāu-nakāralōpa-vidhi*, *ittva-vidhi* and *imvidhi*.

तस्यैतस्य लक्षणस्य दोषः

1. Benares Edition reads भविष्यति

The defect in that *vacana* (*sthānisaṁjñā anyabhūtasyānalvidhāu*) is as follows :—

ङौ नकारलोपः - आर्द्रे चर्मन्, लोहिते चर्मन् । प्रत्ययलक्षणेन यचि भम् इति भसंज्ञा सिद्धा भवति । स्थानिसंज्ञान्यभूतस्यानल्विधौ इति वचनान्न प्राप्नोति ।

Ṅāu nakāralōpaḥ—In *carman* of *ārdrē carman* and *lōhitē carman*, *bhasaṁjñā* is an accomplished fact by the *sūtra* '*Yaci bham*' (1, 4, 18) through *pratyayalakṣaṇa* and it will be set at naught by the statement *Sthānisaṁjñā anyabhūtasya analvidhāu.*

NOTE :—The defect here is this :—If there is *bhasaṁjñā* through *pratyayalakṣaṇa*, there is no chance for *n* of *carman* to be dropped. If it is set at naught by this *vacana*, there is need for the *sūtra* '*Na ṅisambuddhyōḥ*' (8, 2, 8) which is proved by *Vārttikakāra* under the *sūtra* in the 8th *adhyāya* to be unnecessary.

इत्त्वम् - आशीः । प्रत्ययलक्षणेन हलि इतीत्त्वं सिद्धं भवति ; स्थानिसंज्ञान्यभूतस्यानल्विधौ इति वचनान्न प्राप्नोति ।

Ittvam. The *ittva* which is achieved in *āśīḥ* by the *sūtra* '*Śāsa idaṅ halōḥ* (6, 4, 34) through *pratyayalakṣaṇa* will be set at naught by the statement *Sthānisaṁjñā anyabhūtasya analvidhāu.*

NOTE :—The *Vārttikakāra* reads the *vārttika* '*Āśāsaḥ kvāvupadhāyā ittvam vācyam.*'

इम् - अतृणेट् - प्रत्ययलक्षणेन हलीति इम् सिद्धो भवति । स्थानिसंज्ञान्यभूतस्यानल्विधौ इति वचनान्न प्राप्नोति ।

Im. The *im* which is got through the *anuvṛtti* of *hali* (in the *sūtra* '*Tṛṇaha im*' (7, 3, 92) by the application of *pratyayalakṣaṇa* is set at naught by the statement '*Sthānisaṁjñā anyabhūtasya analvidhāu.*'

सूत्रं च भिद्यते

The wording too in the *sūtra* (*Sthānivad ādēśōऽnalvidhāu*) is changed.

NOTE :—By taking recourse to the statement '*Sthānisaṁjñā anyabhūtasya analvidhāu,*' three defects are noted above. The wording in the *sūtra* too is changed.

यथान्यासमेवास्तु Let the *sūtra* remain as it is.

ननु चोक्तं सतो निमित्ताभावात् पदसंज्ञाभावः, तुग्दीर्घत्वयोश्च विप्रतिषेधानुपपत्तिरेकयोगलक्षणत्वात् परिवीरिति

Was it not said (that there are two defects)—'*Satō nimittābhāvāt padasaṃjñābhāvaḥ*' and '*Tugdīrghatvayōśca vipratiṣēdhānupapattir ēkayōgalakṣaṇatvāt parivīr iti*'?

नैष दोषः This difficulty does not arise.

वक्ष्यत्यत्र परिहारम्

The way to meet with the first, *Ācārya* immediately says.

इहापि परिवीरिति - शास्त्रपरविप्रतिषेधेन परत्वाद् दीर्घत्वं भविष्यति

Here too with reference to *parivīḥ*, lengthening takes place since the *sūtra* enjoining it is *para* to the other, on the strength of the *śāstra* '*Vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam*' (1-4-2).

IV

कानि पुनरस्य योगस्य प्रयोजनानि?

What, then, are the benefits derived from this *sūtra*?

प्रयोजनमपृक्तशिलोपे नुममामौ गुणवृद्धिदीर्घत्वेमडाट्श्नम्विधयः

Benefit is that the *vidhīs* pertaining to *num*, *am*, and *ām*, *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*, *dīrghatva*, *im*, *aṭ*, and *āṭ* and *śnam* after *apṛktalōpa* and *śilōpa*.

अपृक्तलोपे शिलोपे च कृते नुम् अमामौ गुणवृद्धी दीर्घत्वमिम् अडाटौ श्नम्विधिरिति प्रयोजनानि

After *apṛktalōpa* and *śilōpa* are effected, the *vidhis* pertaining to *num*, *am* and *ām*, *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*, *dīrghatva*, *im*, *aṭ* and *āṭ* and *śnam* operate and they are the *prayōjanas*.

नुम् - अग्ने त्री ते वाजिना त्री षधस्था (R. V. 3, 20, 2) ता ता पिण्डानाम् । नुम्

Num in the word *vājinā* in the line *agnē trī tē vājinā trī ṣadhasthā tā tā piṇḍānām.*

अमामौ - हे अनड्वन्, अनड्वान्

Am in *anaḍvan* (voc.) and *ām* in *anaḍvān*.

गुणः - अधोक्, अलेट् *Guṇa* in *adhōk* and *alēṭ*.

वृद्धिः - न्यमार्ट् *Vṛddhi* in *nyamārṭ*.

दीर्घत्वम् - अग्ने त्री ते वाजिना त्री षधस्था ता ता पिण्डानाम्

Lengthening in *trī*, *sadhasthā* and *tā* in the line *agnē trī tē vājinā trī ṣadhasthā tā tā piṇḍānām*.

इम् - अतृणेट् *Im* in *atṛṇēṭ*.

अडाटौ - अधोक्, अलेट्, ऐयः, औनः

Aṭ in *adhōk* and *alēṭ* and *āṭ* in *āiyaḥ* and *āunaḥ*.

श्नम्विधिः - अभिनोऽत्र अच्छिनोऽत्र

Śnam in *abhinōstra* and *acchinōstra*.

अपृक्तशिलोपयोः कृतयोरेते विधयो न प्राप्नुवन्ति । प्रत्ययलक्षणेन भवन्ति

Rules relating to the above cannot operate after the *apṛkta* and *śi* elide and they are made to operate through *pratyaya-lakṣaṇa*.

नैतानि सन्ति प्रयोजनानि; स्थानिवद्भावेनापि एतानि सिद्धानि

These need not be taken as *prayōjanas*; they are achieved through *sthānivadbhāva* also.

न सिध्यन्ति । आदेशः स्थानिवदित्युच्यते । न च लोप आदेशः ।

No, they are not achieved. It is said that *ādēśa* is *sthānivat*. *Lōpa* is not an *ādēśa*.

लोपोऽप्यादेशः *Lōpa*, too, is *ādēśa*.

कथम्? How?

आदिश्यते यः स आदेशः, लोपोऽप्यादिश्यते ।

Ādēśa is that which is aimed at and *lōpa*, too, is one which is aimed at.

दोषः खल्वपि स्याद्यदि लोपो नादेशः स्यात् । इह 'अचः परस्मिन् पूर्वविधौ' इत्येतस्य भूयिष्ठानि लोप उदाहरणानि, तानि न स्युः

There will be harm too, if *lōpa* is not taken as *ādēśa*. There are plenty of illustrations with reference to the *sūtra* '*Acaḥ*

parasmin pūrvavidhāu ' taking *lōpa* as *ādēśa* and they will not now suit.

यत्र तर्हि स्थानिवद्भावो नास्ति तदर्थमयं योगो वक्तव्यः

There is need to read this *sūtra* with reference to such places as do not admit *sthānivadbhāva.*

क्व च स्थानिवद्भावो नास्ति ?

Which do not admit *sthānivadbhāva* ?

NOTE:—The word क्व here should be construed in the same way as in क्व पुनरिदं पठितम् in the first *āhnika.*

योऽल्विधिः That which is *alvidhi.*

प्रयोजनं ङौनकारलोपेत्त्वेम्विधयः

Prayōjana is with reference to *ṅaunakāralōpa, ittva* and *im.*

ङौनकारलोपेत्त्वेम्विधयः प्रयोजयन्ति

The *vidhis* relating to *ṅāunakāralōpa, ittva* and *im* are allowed to operate.

NOTE:—In *carman* there may be no room for *sthānivad-bhāva* thro' *analvidhāu* and *bhasaṁjñā* is secured here thro' *pratyayalakṣaṇa* and hence there is no elision of *n*. Similar will be the position of *ittva* and *im* in *āśīḥ* and *atṛṇēṭ.*

भसंज्ञाङीप्ष्फगोरात्वेषु च दोषः

It is defective with reference to *bhasaṁjñā, ṅīp, ṣpha* and *gōrātva* too.

भसंज्ञाङीप्ष्फगोरात्वेषु च दोषो भवति [1]

This will be an impediment for the *bhasaṁjñā, ṅīp, ṣpha* and *gōrātva* to operate.

भसंज्ञायां तावन्न दोषः। आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न प्रत्ययलक्षणेन भसंज्ञा भवतीति, यदयं 'न ङिसम्बुद्ध्योः' इति ङौ प्रतिषेधं शास्ति

Firstly there is no difficulty with reference to *bhasaṁjñā.* The procedure of the *Sūtrakāra* who prohibits the elision of *nakāra*

1. Bombay Edition seems to reconstruct after this the *bhāṣya* not found in other editions on the lines of the *bhāṣya* found under the *vārttika Bhasaṁjñā...* in p. 187.

before the seventh case singular suffix in the *sūtra* '*Na ṅi sambuddhyōḥ*' suggests that there is no *bhasaṁjñā* through *pratyayalakṣaṇa*.

ङीप्यपि - नैवं विज्ञायते अणन्तादकारान्ताद् इति

There is no difficulty with reference to *ṅīp* also; for *akāra* is not taken to qualify *aṇanta*.

कथं तर्हि? How then?

अण् योऽकार इति

Aṇ is taken to qualify *akāra* (so that *ṅīp* becomes *varṇa-nimitta* and not *pratyayanimitta* and hence there is no chance for *pratyayalakṣaṇa*).

ष्फेऽपि - नैवं विज्ञायते - यञन्तादकारान्ताद् इति

There is no difficulty with reference to *ṣpha* also; for *akāra* is not taken to qualify *yañanta*.

कथं तर्हि? How then?

यञ् योऽकार इति

Yañ is taken to qualify *akāra* (so that it means *yañavayavō ya akāraḥ*).

गोरात्वेऽपि, नैवं विज्ञायते अमि अचि इति

Even with reference to *gōr ātva*, there is no difficulty, since *ac* is not taken as the *viśēṣaṇa* of *am*.

कथं तर्हि? How then?

अचि अमीति

Am is taken to be the *viśēṣaṇa* of *ac* (so that *am* becomes *apradhāna* and hence there is no opportunity for *tadādividhi*. The result is that *ātva* is *varṇanimitta* and not *pratyaya-nimitta*).

प्रयोजनान्यपि तर्हि तानि न[1] सन्ति

If so, those that were mentioned as *prayōjanas* need not be so.

1. Bombay Edition reads नैतानि

यत्तावदुच्यते ङौ नकारलोप इति, क्रियते एतन्न्यास एव न ङि सम्बुद्ध्योः

Nāu nakāralōpa mentioned first is enjoined in the *sūtra* *Na ṅi sambuddhyōḥ*.

इत्त्वमपि - वक्ष्यत्येतत् शास इत्त्वे आशासः क्वौ इति

Even with reference to *ittva*, he (*Vārttikakāra*) is going to say with reference to *ittva* of *śās* the *vārttika* '*Āśāsaḥ kvāvupadhāyā ittvam vācyam*.'

इम्विधिरपि - हलीति निवृत्तम्

The difficulty with reference to *imvidhi* too is solved by not taking to the *anuvṛtti* of *hali* (from the *sūtra* '*Utō vṛddhir luki hali*' (7, 3, 89).

यदि हलीति निवृत्तं, तृणहानि अत्रापि प्राप्नोति

If it is solved through non - *anuvṛtti* of *hali*, it may chance to come with reference to *tṛṇahāni*.

एवं तर्हि 'अचि न' इत्यनुवर्तिष्यते

If so, recourse to the *anuvṛtti* of *aci na* is taken (from the *sūtra* '*Na abhyastasya aci....*' (7, 3, 87).

न तर्हीदानीमयं योगो वक्तव्यः ?

Is not, then, this *sūtra* necessary ?

वक्तव्यश्च - It is necessary.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? What is the benefit ?

प्रत्ययं गृहीत्वा यदुच्यते तत् प्रत्ययलक्षणेन यथा स्यात्, शब्दं गृहीत्वा यदुच्यते तत् प्रत्ययलक्षणेन मा भूद् इति ।

That which is enjoined with reference to *pratyaya* may come within the range of *pratyayalakṣaṇa* and that which is enjoined with reference to a word may not come within its range.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? What is the advantage derived from it ?

शोभना दृषदोऽस्य ब्राह्मणस्य, सुदृषद् ब्राह्मणः - 'सोर्मनसी अलोमोषसी' इत्येष स्वरो मा भूद् इति ।

The *bahuvrīhi* compound *sudṛṣad* which becomes an adjunct of *brāhmaṇa* may not take *ādyudāttasvara* enjoined by the *sūtra* '*Sōrmanasī alōmōṣasī*' (6, 2, 117).

NOTE :—1. *Kāiyaṭa* says that, on the authority of the *vārttika Aninasmangrahaṇānyarthavatā cānarthakēna ca tadantavidhim prayōjayanti*, the *pratyayas as-pratyaya* and *apratyaya* are referred to by *sōrmanasī.*

NOTE :— 2. *Vārttikakāra*, considering that there is no *sthānivadbhāva* in *alvidhi*, feels the need for this *sūtra* in such cases and relates the merits and demerits in doing so. *Mahābhāṣyakāra* takes this to be a *niyamasūtra. Kāiyaṭa* mentions in this context '*Sthānivadbhāvēna siddhē satyayam yōgō niyamārthaḥ*' and *Bhaṭṭōjidīkṣita* in his *Śabdakāustubha* under this *sūtra* says '*Yō asmākam niyamavidhiḥ sa mīmāṁsakarītyā parisaṅkhyāvidhir iti spaṣṭam vivaraṇādāu*'.

न लुमताङ्गस्य (1, 1, 63)

Whether there is need for the *upasaṅkhyāna* of *ēkapadasvara* etc. or not is discussed here.

लुमति प्रतिषेधे एकपदस्वरस्योपसङ्ख्यानम्

Supplementation of *ēkapadasvara* to *lumat-pratiṣēdha*.

लुमति प्रतिषेधे एकपदस्वरस्योपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् - एकपदस्वरे च लुमता लुप्ते प्रत्ययलक्षणं न भवतीति वक्तव्यम्

The word *ēkapadasvarasya* is to be added to the *sūtra* '*Na lumatāṅgasya*' (i. e.) it should be said that even with reference to *ēkapadasvara*, *pratyayalakṣaṇa* does not operate when there is elision by the words *luk*, *ślu* and *lup*.

NOTE :— *Ēkapadasvaraḥ* means *ēkapadāśrayaḥ svaraḥ*. Hence if the *svara* is *padadvayāśraya*, *pratyayalakṣaṇa* may operate.

किमविशेषेण ? Is it to all without exception ?

नेत्याह 'No', says he.

सर्वामन्त्रितसिज्लुक्स्वरवर्जम्

Excepting the *svara* in *sarva*, *āmantrita* and *sijluk*.

सर्वस्वरम् आमन्त्रितस्वरं सिज्लुक्स्वरं च वर्जयित्वा

Excepting *sarvasvara*, *āmantritasvara* and *sijluksvara*.

सर्वस्वर - सर्वस्तोमः सर्वपृष्ठः - 'सर्वस्य सुपि' इति आद्युदात्तत्वं यथा स्यात् ।
Sarvasvara—So that there may be *ādyudāttatva* in the words *sarvastōmaḥ*, *sarvapṛṣṭhaḥ* by the *sūtra Sarvasya supi* (6, 1, 191).

NOTE :—The words *sarvastōmaḥ* and *sarvapṛṣṭhaḥ* are *bahuvrīhi* compounds. The *sūtra* '*Bahuvrīhāu pūrvapadam prakṛtyā* enjoins that they are accented on the same syllable as their former member. The first syllable in *sarva* takes the accent if it is followed by *sup* by the *sūtra* '*Sarvasya supi*'; but there is *luk* for the *sup* after *sarva* by the *sūtra* '*Supō dhātuprātipadikayōḥ*' (2, 4, 71). If the *pratyayalakṣaṇa-pratiṣēdha* operates with reference to *sarva*, the first syllable in *sarvastōmaḥ* and *sarvapṛṣṭhaḥ* cannot be accented. Hence it is exempted here.

आमन्त्रितस्वर - सर्पिरागच्छ, सप्तागच्छत - आमन्त्रितस्य च इत्याद्युदात्तत्वं यथा स्यात्
Āmantritasvara—So that the first syllable in *sarpir āgaccha*, *sapta āgacchata* may be accented by the *sūtra* '*Āmantritasya ca*' (6, 1, 198).

NOTE :—The words *sarpis* and *saptan* are *antōdātta* and *āmantritasvara* sets it at naught.

सिज्लुक्स्वर - मा हि दाताम्, मा हि धाताम् - आदिः सिचोऽन्यतरस्याम् इत्येष स्वरो यथा स्यात्
Sijluksvara—So that the *svara* enjoined by the *sūtra* '*Ādiḥ sicōsnyatarasyām*' (6, 1, 187) may take place in the verbs *dātām* and *dhātām* in the sentences *Mā hi dātām*, *mā hi dhātām*.

NOTE :—1. The *sic* in *dātām* and *dhātām* is dropped by the *sūtra* '*Gātisthāghupābhūbhyaḥ*' (2, 4, 77). The first syllable in them takes the *udāttasvara* by the *sūtra* '*Ādiḥ sicōsnyatarasyām*' through *pratyayalakṣaṇa*.

NOTE :—2. *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* reads :—*Mā hi dātām ityatra aṭpratiṣēdhāya māṅ* ; *hiśabdō* '*Hi ca*' *iti nighātapratiṣēdhārthaḥ*.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? Why ?

प्रयोजनं ञिनिकिल्लुकि स्वराः

Benefit of the *upasaṅkhyāna* of *ēkapadasvara* is seen where there is the *luk* of *ñit*, *nit* and *kit*.

ञिनिकित्स्वराः लुकि प्रयोजयन्ति । गर्गाः, वत्साः, बिदाः, उर्वाः, उष्ट्रग्रीवा वामरज्जुः - ञ्निति इत्याद्युदात्तत्वं मा भूदिति । इह च अत्रयः, कितः इत्यन्तोदात्तत्वं मा भूदिति ।

The *svaras* pertaining to *ñit*, *nit* and *kit* are prohibited as a result when there is *luk* to them, so that the words *gargāḥ*, *vatsāḥ*, *bidāḥ*, *urvāḥ*, *uṣṭragrīvāḥ*, *vāmarajjuḥ* may not accent on the first syllable by the *sūtra* '*Ñniti ādir nityam*' (6, 1, 197) and *atrayaḥ* may not accent the final syllable by the *sūtra* *Kitaḥ* (6, 1, 125).

NOTE:—1. The words *Garga* and *Vatsa* take the *gōtra-pratyaya yañ* by the *sūtra* *Gargādibhyō yañ* (4, 1, 105). The stems *Gārgya* and *Vātsa* become *Garga* and *Vatsa* in the plural number by the *sūtra* *Yañañōśca* (2, 4, 64) and accent the final. syllable by the *sūtra* *Phiṣōsnta udāttaḥ* and not the initial syllable by the *sūtra* *Ñniti*... Similarly the words *Bida* and *Ūrva* take the *gōtrapratyaya añ* by the *sūtra* *Anṛṣyānantaryē bidādibhyōsñ* (4, 1, 104) and the stems become *Bida* and *Ūrva* in the plural number by the *sūtra* *Yañañōśca* (2, 4, 64). *Uṣṭra-grīva* and *vāmarajju* take *kan* by the *sūtra* *Ivē pratikṛtāu* (5, 3, 96) and it is dropped by the *sūtra* *Dēvapathādibhyaśca* (5, 3, 100). The word *Atri* takes *ḍhak* by the *sūtra* *Itaścāniñaḥ* (4, 1, 122) and it takes *luk* by the *sūtra* *Atri bhṛgu*....(2-4-65).

NOTE:—2. *Kāiyaṭa* reads:—*Pratiṣēdham iti adhyāhāraḥ* and *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* supplements it thus:-*Prayōjayanti ityasya karmākāṅkṣāyām āha pratiṣēdham iti*.

पथिमथोः सर्वनामस्थाने लुकि

At the *luk* of *sarvanāmasthāna* case-suffix after *pathin* and *mathin*.

पथिमथोः सर्वनामस्थाने लुकि प्रयोजनम् । पथिमथोः सर्वनामस्थाने लुमता लुप्ते प्रत्ययलक्षणं न भवति इति वक्तव्यम्[1]- पथिप्रियः, मथिप्रियः - पथिमथोः सर्वनामस्थाने इत्येष स्वरो मा भूदिति ।

1. Bombay and Benares Editions omit this sentence.

Another *prayōjana* (in taking *pratyayalakṣaṇapratiṣēdha* in *ēkapadasvara*) is when there is *luk* of *sarvanāmasthāna* after *pathin* and *mathin*. It must be said there is no *pratyaya-lakṣaṇa* when *sarvanāmasthāna* has *lumat-lōpa,* so that the *ādyudāttatva* enjoined by the *sūtra Pathimathōḥ sarvanāmasthānē* (6, 1, 199) may not take place in the words *pathipriyaḥ* and *mathipriyaḥ*.

NOTE :—*Nagēśabhaṭṭa* reads :- *Pathimathiśabdāu inipratya-yāntatayā pratyayasvarēṇa Phiṣōnta iti vā antōdāttāu.*

अह्नो रविधौ (*Upasaṅkhyāna*) with reference to *ravidhi* in *ahan*·

अह्नो रविधाने लुमता लुप्ते प्रत्ययलक्षणं न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् - अहर्ददाति अहर्भुङ्क्ते - रोऽसुपि इति प्रत्ययलक्षणेन प्रतिषेधो मा भूदिति ।

It must be said that *pratyayalakṣaṇa-pratiṣēdha* operates when there is *lumatlōpa* with reference to *ravidhāna* in *ahan,* so that there may be *rēphādēśa* in *ahar dadāti* and *ahar bhuṅktē* without its being prevented by *asupi* in *Rōssupi* through *pratyaya-lakṣaṇa.*

NOTE :—When there is *sup* which is instrumental for *padasaṁjñā* after *ahan,* there is *rutva* by the *sūtra Ahan* (8, 2, 68).

उत्तरपदत्वे चापदादिविधौ

(*Upasaṅkhyāna*) with reference to *apadādividhi* in the *padatva* of the second member of a compound also.

उत्तरपदत्वे चापदादिविधौ लुमता लुप्ते प्रत्ययलक्षणं न भवतीति वक्तव्यम् - परमवाचा परमवाचे, परमगोदुहा परमगोदुहे, परमश्वलिहा परमश्वलिहे - पदस्येति प्रत्ययलक्षणेन कुत्वादीनि मा भूवन्निति ।

It must be said that there is *pratyayalakṣaṇa-pratiṣēdha* when there is *lumat-lōpa* with reference to the rules applicable to all the letters in the latter member of a compound other than the initial one, so that *kutva* and others do not take place in *paramavācā* and *paramavācē*, *paramagōduhā* and *paramagōduhē* and *paramaśvalihā* and *paramaśvalihē,* by assuming *padatva* (an account of *samāsārthavibhakti*) through *pratyayalakṣaṇa.*

NOTE :—1. The word *ādi* in *kutvādīni* refers to *ghatva* and *ḍhatva*. The *kutva* etc. take place by the *sūtras Cōḥ kuḥ* (8, 2, 30) *Dādēr dhātōr ghaḥ* (8, 2, 32) and *Hō ḍhaḥ* (8, 2, 34).

NOTE :—2. The elision of the case-suffix is through the *sūtra 'Supō dhātuprātipadikayōḥ'* (2, 4, 71).

NOTE :—3. *Kāiyaṭa* reads :–*Samāsārthā yā vibhaktiḥ kṛtā, tām pratyayalakṣaṇēna āśritya padatvanibandhanāni kutvādīni prāpnuvanti. Bhasaṁjñā tu yasmād yajādividhir iti samudāyasyāiva na tu avayavasya.*

अपदादिविधौ इति किमर्थम् ?

What for is the expression *apadādividhāu* (in the *vārttika*) ?

दधिसेचौ दधिसेचः - सात्पदाद्योः इति प्रतिषेधो यथा स्यात्

So that *ṣatvapratiṣēdha* may happen in *dadhisēcāu* and *dadhisēcaḥ* through the *sūtra Sāt padādyōḥ* (8, 3, 111).

यदि अपदादिविधौ इत्युच्यते उत्तरपदाधिकारो न प्रकल्पेत

If *apadādividhāu* is read in the *vārttika*, there is no chance for the *uttarapada-adhikāra* suggested by the *sūtra Uttarapadādiḥ* (6, 2, 111) to operate.

तत्र को दोषः ? What harm is there ?

कर्णो वर्णलक्षणात् इत्येवमादिर्विधिर्न सिध्यति

Each of the *sūtras* led by the *sūtra Karṇō varṇalakṣaṇāt* (6, 1, 112) can have no effect.

NOTE :—The *sūtra Karṇō varṇalakṣaṇāt* enjoins the *ādyudāttatva* of *karṇa* in *śuklakarṇa* etc. and so also do the following *sūtras*.

यदि पुनर्नलोपादिविधौ प्लुत्यन्ते लुमता लुप्ते प्रत्ययलक्षणं न भवतीत्युच्येत [1]

Suppose *'lumatā luptē pratyayalakṣaṇam na bhavati'* is read (after *pluti* following the *sūtra Na lōpaḥ prātipadikāntasya* (8, 2, 7).

नैवं शक्यम् । इह हि राजकुमार्यौ राजकुमार्यः इति शाकलं प्रसज्येत

No, it is not possible to say so ; for the rule of *Śākalya* mentioned in the *sūtra Ikōssavarṇē śakalyasya hrasvaśca* (6, 1, 127) may operate in the words *rājakumāryāu* and *rājakumāryaḥ*.

1. Benares Edition reads उच्यते.

NOTE :—The above may be the case since there is *anuvṛtti* for *padāntāt* from *Eṅaḥ padāntād ati* (6, 1, 109).

नैष दोषः, यदेतत् सिति शाकलं नेति एतत् प्रत्यये शाकलं न इति वक्ष्यामि
This difficulty can be avoided ; I shall read *pratyayē* in place of the *sit* in the *vārttika Sinnityasamāsayōḥ śākalapratiṣēdhaḥ* under (6, 1, 127).

यदि प्रत्यये शाकलं नेत्युच्यते, दधि अधुना, मधु अधुना अत्रापि न प्रसज्येत
If *pratyayē śākalam na* is read, the *vidhi* of *Śākalya* (i. e. *prakṛti-bhāva*) may not operate in *dadhi* + *adhunā* and *madhu*+*adhunā*.

NOTE :—*Adhunā* is mentioned as a *pratyaya* in (5, 3, 17).

प्रत्यये शाकलं न भवति
The *vidhi* of *Śākalya* does not operate when a *pratyaya* is the following member.

कस्मिन्[1] ?
On which *pratyaya* serving as the following member ?

यस्माद्यः प्रत्ययो विहित इति
When the *pratyaya* enjoined follows that to which it is enjoined.

इह तर्हि परमदिवा परमदिवे, दिव उत् इति उत्त्वं प्राप्नोति
If so, the *uttva* will a find a place in *paramadivā* and *parama-divē* by the *sūtra Diva ut* (6, 1, 131).

NOTE :— *Kāiyaṭa* reads :- *Uttvavidhāu Eṅaḥ padāntād iti padādhikāraḥ*.

अस्तु तर्हि अविशेषेण If so, let it operate without reservation.

ननु चोक्तम् उत्तरपदाधिकारो न प्रकल्पेत इति
Oh, it was said that there will be no room for *uttarapadā-dhikāra*.

वचनादुत्तरपदाधिकारो भविष्यति
There will be room for *uttarapadādhikāra* through *vacana*.

1. Bombay Edition reads कतरस्मिन्.

तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It, then, must be mentioned.

NOTE :—*Tat* refers to '*Uttarapadatvē ca apadādividhāu.*

न वक्तव्यम् It need not be mentioned.

अनुवृत्तिः करिष्यते *Anuvṛtti* will be taken recourse to.

इदमस्ति यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्ययेऽङ्गम्

Here is the *sūtra* '*Yasmāt pratyayavidhiḥ tadādi pratyayē aṅgam*' (1, 4, 13) (from which there is *anuvṛtti* to *yasmāt* and *tadādi* in the following five *sūtras*).

सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् - यस्मात् सुप्तिङ्विधिः तदादि सुबन्तं तिङन्तं च

Suptiṅantam padam (1, 4, 14). The *śabdasvarūpa* beginning with that after which *sup* and *tiṅ* are enjoined and the *subanta* and the *tiṅanta* take *padasaṁjñā*.

नः क्ये - नान्तं क्ये पदसंज्ञं भवति, यस्मात् क्यविधिः तदादि सुबन्तं च

Naḥ kyē (1, 4, 15). That which ends in *n* and is followed by *kya* takes *padasaṁjñā* and also the *subanta* beginning with that after which the *pratyaya kya* is enjoined.

सिति च - सिति च पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं भवति, यस्मात् सिद्विधिः तदादि सुबन्तं च

Siti ca (1, 4, 16). That which precedes *sit* takes *padasaṁjñā* and also the *subanta* beginning with that after which *sit* is enjoined.

स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने - स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं भवति, यस्मात् स्वादिविधिः तदादि सुबन्तं च ।

Svādiṣu asarvanāmasthānē (1, 4, 17). That which precedes *sup* which is not *sarvanāmasthāna* takes *padasaṁjñā* and also the *subanta* beginning with that after which *svādividhi* is mentioned.

यचि भम् - यजादिप्रत्यये पूर्वं भं भवति, यस्माद् यजादिविधिः तदादि सुबन्तं च ।

Yaci bham (1, 4, 18). That which precedes the *pratyaya* beginning with *yac* takes *bhasaṁjñā* and also the *subanta* beginning with that after which *yajādi* appears.

इह तर्हि परमवाक्- असर्वनामस्थाने इति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति

There is, then, chance for *pratiṣēdha* here in *paramavāk* on account of *asarvanāmasthānē*.

NOTE:—*Asarvanāmasthānē* is taken as *prasajyapratiṣēdha* and hence there is *pratiṣēdha* for *padatva* and hence *aprāpti* to *kutva*.

अस्तु तस्याः प्रतिषेधः या स्वादौ पदमिति पदसंज्ञा । या तु सुबन्तं पदम् इति पदसंज्ञा स भविष्यति । सत्येतत्प्रत्यये आसीदनया भविष्यत्यनया न भविष्यतीति ।

Let there be *pratiṣēdha* to that *padasaṁjñā* which is enjoined by the *sūtra Svādiṣvasarvanāmasthānē* (1, 4, 17). Let then the *padasaṁjñā* enjoined by *subantam padam* set in. Only in the presence of the *pratyaya* there is room to say that it is secured by this and it is not secured by the other.

लुप्त इदानीं प्रत्यये यावत एवावधेः स्वादौ पदमिति पदसंज्ञा, तावत एवावधेः सुबन्तं पदमिति । अस्ति च प्रत्ययलक्षणेन सर्वनामस्थानपरतेति कृत्वा, प्रतिषेधाश्च बलीयांसो भवन्तीति प्रतिषेधः प्राप्नोति ।

When the *pratyaya* has now been elided, the portion which gets the *padasaṁjñā* by '*Svādiṣu...*' is the same as that which gets the same by '*Subantam padam*'. We take that it is followed by *sarvanāmasthāna* suffix. *Pratiṣēdha* sets in by the dictum that *pratiṣēdhas* are more powerful.

नाप्रतिषेधात् No, on account of *apratiṣēdha*.

नायं प्रसज्यप्रतिषेधः सर्वनामस्थाने न इति

It is not *prasajyapratiṣēdha* so that it may be taken to mean '*Sarvanāmasthānē na*.'

किं तर्हि ? What then?

पर्युदासोऽयम् यदन्यत्सर्वनामस्थानादिति

It is *paryudāsa*, so that it means that which is other than *sarvanāmasthāna*.

सर्वनामस्थाने अव्यापारः । यदि केनचित्प्राप्नोति तेन भविष्यति; पूर्वेण च प्राप्नोति ।

This *sūtra* does not act with reference to *sarvanāmasthāna*. If there is chance for it through another, it gets it through it. Here (in *paramavāk*) the *padasaṁjñā* sets in through the former (*Suptiṅantam padam* 1-4-14).

अप्राप्तेर्वा Or, on account of *aprāpti*.

अथ वा अनन्तरा या प्राप्तिः सा प्रतिषिध्यते

Or, the *kārya* of a *sūtra* which is proximate is prohibited.

NOTE :—This *vārttika* suggests that there is no harm even if it is taken as *prasajyapratiṣēdha*.

कुत एतत्? How is it?

अनन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वा इति पूर्वा प्राप्तिरप्रतिषिद्धा, तया भविष्यति

The *prāpti* by the remote *sūtra* is not prohibited, since *vidhi* or *pratiṣēdha* relates to what is proximate and hence it is effected on the strength of the former.

ननु चेयं प्राप्तिः पूर्वां प्राप्तिं बाधते

Oh, this *prāpti* sets at naught the previous *prāpti*.

नोत्सहते प्रतिषिद्धा सती बाधितुम्

It, being set at naught, cannot disturb the previous one.

यद्येवं परमवाचौ परमवाच इति, सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् इति पदसंज्ञा प्राप्नोति

If so, there is chance for *padasaṁjñā* through '*Suptiṅantam padam*' in the words *paramavācāu* and *paramavācaḥ*.

NOTE :—In that case there will be chance to *kutva* by '*Cōḥ kuḥ*.'

एवं तर्हि योगविभागः करिष्यते - 'स्वादिषु', स्वादिषु पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं भवति; ततः, 'सर्वनामस्थाने अयचि', सर्वनामस्थाने अयचि पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं भवति; ततः 'भम्', भसंज्ञं भवति यजादावसर्वनामस्थाने इति ।

If so, the *sūtras* are split thus:—First '*Svādiṣu*' is read as a separate *sūtra* and it means that the element which precedes *svādi* takes *padasaṁjñā*. Then '*Sarvanāmasthānē ayaci*' is read

and it means that the element which precedes *sarvanāmasthāna* which is *ayajādi* takes *padasaṁjñā*. Then '*Bham*' is read and it means that the element which precedes *asarvanāmasthāna* which is *yajādi* takes *bhasaṁjñā*.

NOTE :-*Kāiyaṭa* reads :-*Bhāṣyē tu vastumātram upanyastam-Sarvanāmasthānē ayaci iti*; and *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* supplements it thus:—*Vastumātram, arthasiddhōsrthaḥ*; *tatphalam naññaḥ sarva-nāmasthānapadēna asambandhapradarśanam.*

यदि तर्हि सावपि पदं भवति, एचः प्लुतविकारे पदान्तग्रहणं चोदयिष्यति इह मा भूत्-भद्रं करोषि गौः इति । तस्मिन् क्रियमाणेऽपि प्राप्नोति

If, then, there is *padasaṁjñā* even before *su*, the rule *Ecōspra-gṛhyasya adūrāddhūtē pūrvasyārdhasya a३t uttarasya idutāu* (8, 2, 107) will operate with reference to *āu* in the sentence '*bhadram karōṣi gāuḥ*,' even though *Vārttikakāra* reads under that *sūtra* the *vārttika* '*Ecaḥ plutavikārē padāntagrahaṇam*' to avoid it.

वाक्यपदयोरन्त्यस्येत्येवं तत्

It is with reference to that which is the final of a *vākya* and *pada*.

NOTE :—The meaning of this sentence becomes clear from *Kāiyaṭa's Pradīpa* under that *sūtra*.

इह तर्हि-दधिसेचौ दधिसेचः-सात्पदाद्योरिति पदादिलक्षणः षत्वप्रतिषेधो न प्राप्नोति

Here then in *dadhisēcāu* and *dadhisēcaḥ*, there cannot be *ṣatva-pratiṣēdha* which is *padādilakṣaṇa* through the *sūtra Sāt padādyōḥ*.

मा भूदेवं - पदस्यादिः पदादिः पदादेर्न इति

Let *padādēḥ* be not taken as the genetive of *padādi* which is split as *padasya ādiḥ* and consequently the *pratiṣēdha* need not be taken to *padasya ādi*.

कथं तर्हि ? How then ?

पदादादिः पदादिः, पदादेर्न इत्येवं भविष्यति

The *pratiṣēdha* may be to *padādi* which is split as *padād ādiḥ*.

नैवं शक्यम् - इहापि प्रसज्येत ऋक्षु वाक्षु त्वक्षु कुमारीषु किशोरीषु इति

No, it is not possible to interpret it so, for such an interpretation may chance to be applied to *ṛkṣu*, *vākṣu*, *tvakṣu*, *kumārīṣu* and *kiśōrīṣu.*

सात्प्रतिषेधो ज्ञापकः, स्वादिषु परत्वेन येषां पदसंज्ञा न तेभ्यः प्रतिषेधो भवतीति

The *pratiṣēdha* by the *sūtra* '*Sāt padādyōḥ*' is a *jñāpaka* to this :- *pratiṣēdha* does not prevail after those which get the *padasaṁjñā* on account of their being followed by *svādi.*

इह तर्हि बहुसेचौ बहुसेचः, बहुच् अयं प्रत्ययः, अत्र पदादादिः पदादिः पदादेर्न इत्युच्यमानेऽपि न सिध्यति

Here, then, in *bahusēcāu* and *bahusēcaḥ*, *bahuc* is the *pratyaya.* Even though it is said that the *pratisēdha* holds good to *padādi* where it is split as *padād ādiḥ*, the forms cannot be accomplished.

एवं तर्हि उत्तरपदत्वे च पदादिविधौ लुमता लुप्ते प्रत्ययलक्षणं भवति इति वक्ष्यामि । तन्नियमार्थं भविष्यति - पदादिविधावेव न पदान्तविधौ इति

If so, I shall read '*Uttarapadatvē ca padādividhāu lumatā luptē pratyayalakṣaṇam bhavati.*' It will serve as *niyamavidhi* operating only in *padādividhi* and not in *padāntavidhi.*

कथं बहुसेचौ बहुसेचः ?

How is one to get the forms *bahusēcāu* and *bahusēcaḥ ?*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads :- *Samāsābhāvāt na uttarapadatvam, nāpi pūrvasya padatvam. Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* supplements it :- *Ēvam ca niyamāprāptāu pratyayalakṣaṇēna padattvāt ṣatvaniṣēdhavat Cōḥ kuḥ padāntasya iti kutvam syāt.*

बहुच्पूर्वस्य च To *bahucpūrva* also.

बहुच्पूर्वस्य च पदादिविधावेव न पदान्तविधाविति

It applies only to *padādividhi* and not to *padāntavidhi* even in words where *bahuc* is the former member.

द्वन्द्वेऽन्त्यस्य To the final in *dvandva.*

द्वन्द्वेऽन्त्यस्य लुमता लुप्ते प्रत्ययलक्षणं न भवतीति वक्तव्यम्, वाक् च स्रक् च त्वक् च वाक्स्रक्त्वचम् ।

It must be said that *pratyayalakṣaṇa* does not operate with reference to the final in the *dvandva* compound, as in *vāksrak-tvacam* which is the *dvandva* of *vāk*, *srak* and *tvak*.

इह अभूवन् इति प्रत्ययलक्षणेन जुस्भावः प्राप्नोति

Jus may chance to appear in *abhūvan* through *pratyaya-lakṣaṇa* (by the *sūtra Sij abhyastavidibhyaśca* (3, 4, 109).

सिचि जुसोऽप्रसङ्ग आकारप्रकरणात्

There is no chance for *jus* to appear where *sic* has appeared on account of *ākāraprakaraṇa*.

सिचि सिज्निमित्तस्य जुसोऽप्रसङ्गः

There is no chance for *jus* which has *sic* for its *nimitta* to appear in place where *sic* has room to appear.

किं कारणम्? Why?

आकारप्रकरणात् - आतः इति वर्तते, तन्नियमार्थं[1] भविष्यति - आत एव च सिज्लुगन्तात् नान्यस्मात् सिज्लुगन्ताद् इति

On account of *ākāraprakaraṇa*. The *sūtra Ātaḥ* (3, 4, 110) is read there and it is taken to suggest *niyama*, so that *pratyayalakṣaṇa* operates at the end of *sijluk* following *ā* alone.

इह 'इति युष्मत्पुत्रो ददाति', 'इत्यस्मत्पुत्रो ददाति' इत्यत्र प्रत्ययलक्षणेन युष्मदस्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्वान्नावौ इति वान्नावादयः आदेशाः प्राप्नुवन्ति

There is chance for the *ādēśas vām*, *nāu* etc. to take the place of *yuṣmat* and *asmat* in '*Iti yuṣmatputrō dadāti*,' *Iti asmatputrō dadāti*' by the *sūtra* '*Yuṣmad-asmadōḥ ṣaṣṭhī-caturthī-dvitīyā-sthayōr vāmnāvāu* (8, 1, 20) thro' *pratyayalakṣaṇa*.

युष्मदस्मदोः स्थग्रहणात्

On account of reading *stha* in the *sūtra* '*Yuṣmadasmadōḥ...*'

1. Bombay Edition reads आतः इत्येतन्नियमार्थम्

स्थग्रहणं तत्र क्रियते, तत् श्रूयमाणविभक्तिविशेषणं विज्ञास्यते

Stha is read there and it is taken to be the *viśēṣaṇa* of the case-suffix that has not elided.

अस्त्यन्यत् स्थग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनम्

There is another *prayōjana* in reading *stha.*

किम्? What?

सविभक्तिकस्य वान्नावादयो यथा स्युः इति

So that *vām, nāu* etc. may replace *yuṣmad* and *asmad* only when they are followed by case-suffix.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम्। पदस्य इति वर्तते। विभक्त्यन्तं च पदम्। तत्र अन्तरेणापि स्थग्रहणं सविभक्तिकस्यैव भविष्यति।

This cannot be the *prayōjana.* There is *adhikāra* for *padasya. Pada* is that which has *vibhakti* at the end. Hence *vām, nāu* etc. can replace *yusmad* and *asmad* only when they are followed by case-suffix even without *stha* in the *sūtra.*

भवेत्सिद्धम् यत्र विभक्त्यन्तं पदम्। यत्र तु खलु विभक्तौ पदं तत्र न सिध्यति, ग्रामो वां दीयते, ग्रामो नौ दीयते, जनपदो वां दीयते, जनपदो नौ दीयते।

It may be so decided where *vibhakyanta* is taken to be *pada*; but the same cannot hold good where *pada* is that which is followed by *vibhakti,* as in *grāmō vām dīyatē, grāmō nāu dīyatē, janapadō vām dīyatē, janapadō nāu dīyatē.*

सर्वग्रहणमपि प्रकृतमनुवर्तते, तेन सविभक्तिकस्यैव भविष्यति

There is *anuvṛtti* for *sarva* read in the context also and hence the *ādēśa* replaces only that which has *vibhakti* at the end.

इह 'चक्षुष्कामं याजयाञ्चकार' इति 'तिङ्ङतिङः' इति तस्य च निघातः, तस्माच्चानिघातः प्राप्नोति।

Here in the sentence *Cakṣuṣkāmam yājayāñcakāra, yājayām* takes *sarvānudātta* by the *sūtra* '*Tiṅṅatiṅaḥ*' and *cakāra* takes its accent.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads:—*Paratvāt tibādiṣu kṛtēṣu Āmaḥ* (2, 4, 81) *iti luki, pratyayalakṣaṇēna yājayām ityasya tiṅantatvam iti pūrvaḥ pakṣaḥ.*

आमि लिलोपात्तस्य चानिघातस्तस्माच्च निघातः

On account of *lakāralōpa* with reference to *ām*, it does not get *nighāta* and the following element gets it.

आमि लिलोपात् तस्य चानिघातः, तस्माच्च निघातः सिद्धो भविष्यति

With reference to *ām*, there is no *nighātasvara* on account of the elision of *liṭ* and the *nighātasvara* to the element which follows it stands firm.

अङ्गाधिकार इटो विप्रतिषेधौ

Aṅgādhikāra being accepted, (non-accomplishment) of *vidhi* and *pratiṣēdha* of *iṭ*.

अङ्गाधिकारे इटो विधिप्रतिषेधौ न सिध्यतः - जिगमिष संविवृत्स - अङ्गस्य इतीटो विधिप्रतिषेधौ न प्राप्नुतः ।

If *aṅgasya* is taken by *adhikāra*, the *iḍvidhi* and *iṭpratiṣēdha* in the words *jigamiṣa* and *saṁvivṛtsa* cannot take place.

NOTE :— After the imperative second person singular termination *hi* is dropped by the *sūtra Atō hēḥ* (6, 4, 105), *iṭ* after *m* cannot be inserted by the *sūtra* '*Gamēr iṭ parasmāi-padēṣu*' (7, 2, 58), since it is not *aṅgādhikāravihitakārya* Similarly the *iṭpratiṣēdha* in *saṁvivṛtsa* cannot operate by the *sūtra* '*Na vṛbhyaś caturbhyaḥ*' (7, 2. 59).

क्रमेर्दीर्घत्वं च The lengthening too in *kram*.

किं च? What does the particle *ca* connect?

इटश्च विधिप्रतिषेधौ The *vidhi* and the *pratiṣēdha* of *iṭ*.

NOTE :—This answer has a sly humour in it which slightly irritates the questioner.

नेत्याह ; अदेशेऽयं चः पठितः ; क्रमेश्च दीर्घत्वम् उत्क्राम सङ्क्राम इति

"No," says he ; This *ca* is not read in its proper place ; the *vārttika* should have been read thus :—*Kramēśca dīrghatvam*, (so that lengthening cannot be accomplished) in *utkrāma* and *saṅkrāma*.

इह किंचिदङ्गाधिकारे लुमता लुप्ते प्रत्ययलक्षणेन भवति, किञ्चिच्च अन्यत्र न भवति ।

Here in *aṅgādhikāra* there is, in certain cases, *pratyayalakṣaṇa* when there is *lumat-lōpa* and there is no *pratyayalakṣaṇa* in some places where there is no *adhikāra* for *aṅga*.

यदि पुनः

न लुमता तस्मिन्

इत्युच्येत

Suppose the *sūtra* is read '*Na lumatā tasmin.*'

अथ न लुमता तस्मिन इति उच्यमाने, किं सिद्धमेतद् भवति इटो विधि-प्रतिषेधौ क्रमेर्दीर्घत्वं च ?

If it is read '*Na lumatā tasmin,*' are the following accomplished :—the *vidhi* and the *pratiṣēdha* of *iṭ* and the lengthening of *kram* ?

बाढं सिद्धम् - Yes, they are accomplished.

न इटो विधिप्रतिषेधौ परस्मैपदेष्विति उच्यते

It is not said that there is *vidhi* and *pratiṣēdha* to *iṭ* when they are followed by *parasmāipada* terminations.

कथं तर्हि ? When then ?

सकारादाविति

When they are followed by the group commencing with *s*.

तद्विशेषणं परस्मैपदग्रहणम्

The word *parasmāipada* is its *viśēṣaṇa*.

न खल्वपि क्रमेर्दीर्घत्वं परस्मैपदेष्वित्युच्यते

It is not also said that lengthening in *kram* takes place when it is followed by *parasmāipada* terminations.

कथं तर्हि ? When then ?

शितीति When it is followed by *śit*.

तद्विशेषणं परस्मैपदग्रहणम्

The word *parasmāipada* is its *viśēṣaṇa*.

न लुमता तस्मिन्निति चेद्धनिणिङादेशास्तलोपे

If the *sūtra* is read '*Na lumatā tasmin*,' (non-achievement of) the *ādēśas* of *han*, *iṇ* and *iṅ* when there is *talōpa*.

न लुमता तस्मिन्निति चेत् हनिणिङादेशास्तलोपे न सिध्यन्ति - अवधि भवता दस्युः, अगायि भवता ग्रामः, अध्यगायि भवता अनुवाकः । तलोपे कृते लुङीति हनिणिङादेशा न प्राप्नुवन्ति

If the *sūtra* is read '*Na lumatā tasmin*', the *ādēśas* of *han*, *iṇ* and *iṅ* do not replace them when *ta* elides in the following cases:–*Avadhi bhavatā dasyuḥ*, *agāyi bhavatā grāmaḥ*, *adhyagāyi bhavatā anuvākaḥ*. After *talōpa* has taken place, the *ādēśas* of *han*, *iṇ* and *iṅ* do not replace them by the *sūtra* *Luṅi ca* (2, 4, 43), *Iṇō gā luṅi* (2, 4, 45) and *Vibhāṣā luṅliṅōḥ* (2, 4, 50).

NOTE:—*Ta* is dropped by the *sūtra* '*Ciṇō luk*' (6, 4, 104)

नैष दोषः, न लुङीति हनिणिङादेशा उच्यन्ते

This objection cannot stand, since the *ādēśas* are not enjoined to *han*, *iṇ* and *iṅ* when they are followed by *luṅ*.

किं तर्हि? When then?

आर्द्धधातुक इति । तद्विशेषणं लुङ्ग्रहणम्

When they are followed by *ārddhadhātuka*. The word *luṅ* is its *viśēṣaṇa*.

इह च - सर्वस्तोमः सर्वपृष्ठः - सर्वस्य सुपि इत्याद्युदात्तत्वं न प्राप्नोति

Here too in *śarvastōmaḥ* and *sarvapṛṣṭhaḥ*, *ādyudāttatva* does not chance to take place by the *sūtra* '*Sarvasya supi*' (6, 1, 191).

तच्चापि वक्तव्यम् That, too, has to be read.

न वक्तव्यम् । न लुमताङ्गस्य इत्येव सिद्धम्

It need not be read. It is accomplished by the *sūtra* '*Na lumatāṅgasya*.'

कथम्? How?

न लुमता लुप्ते अङ्गाधिकारः प्रतिनिर्दिश्यते ।

When there is *lumat-lōpa*, there is no *niṣēdha* to the *aṅgakārya* which has it for its *nimitta*.

किं तर्हि ? To which is, then, the *pratinirdēśa* ?

योऽसौ लुमता लुप्यते तस्मिन् यदङ्गं तस्य यत्कार्यं तन्न भवति ।

There is prohibition to the *kārya* of that which forms the *aṅga* when there is *lumat-lōpa* to the *pratyaya*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads :–*Aṅgasya ityasya svaritattvāpratijñānāt tatra lumatā luptē pratyayē yad aṅgam tasya yat kāryam pratyayanimittam āṅgam anāṅgam vā tanna bhavati ityarthaḥ.*

एवमपि सर्वस्वरो न सिध्यति

Even then *sarvasvara* is not secured.

कर्तव्योऽत्र यत्नः Effort has to be made with reference to it.

NOTE :—At first it was recognised that *aṅgasya* of the *sūtra Na lumatāṅgasya* has *svaritattva* and hence *lumat-lōpa* has *pratinirdēśa* to *aṅgādhikāra*. The difficulties that arose from that interpretation were pointed out by the *Vārttikakāra* who first supplemented the *sūtra* by same *vārttikas* and finally decided to change the *sūtra* thus—*Na lumatā tasmin. Mahābhāṣyakāra* has given to the *sūtra* '*Na lumatāṅgasya*' the same meaning as is given to '*Na lumatā tasmin*' by discarding the *svaritattva* of *aṅgasya*. Even then one defect is noted at the end. From this discussion it is clear that even at the time of *Mahābhāṣyakāra* it was not definitely known how the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* was studied in the *saṁhitā* form.

अलोऽन्त्यात् पूर्व उपधा (1-1-65)

Whether *alaḥ* in the *sūtra* is nominative plural or ablative singular is the only point discussed here. Incidentally *Vārttikakāra* gives reasons for the need of the *paribhāṣā* '*Nānarthakēsлōntyavidhir anabhyāsavikārē*' and *Mahābhāṣyakāra* proves that it is not necessary.

किमिदमल्ग्रहणमन्त्यविशेषणम् ?

Is the word *alaḥ* here the *viśēṣya* of *antya* ?

एवं भवितुमर्हति It deserves to be so.

उपधासंज्ञायामल्ग्रहणमन्त्यनिर्देशश्चेत् सङ्घातप्रतिषेधः

Need for prohibiting *saṅghāta* from securing the *saṁjñā* if the word *alaḥ* in the *sūtra* defining *upadhā* has *antya* for its *viśēṣaṇa*.

उपधासंज्ञायामल्ग्रहणमन्त्यनिर्देशश्चेत् सङ्घातस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । सङ्घातस्योपधासंज्ञा प्राप्नोति ।

If the word *alaḥ* in the *sūtra* defining *upadhā* has *antya* for its *viśēṣaṇa*, *saṅghāta* should be prohibited from getting the *saṁjñā*. There is chance for *upadhāsaṁjñā* to the *saṅghāta*.

तत्र को दोषः? What harm will set in then?

शास इदङ् हलोः - शिष्टः, शिष्टवान् - सङ्घातस्येत्त्वं प्राप्नोति

I will replace the *saṅghāta śā* by the *sūtra Śāsa idaṅ halōḥ* (6, 4, 34), so that the forms *śiṣṭaḥ* and *śiṣṭavān*, cannot be secured.

यदि पुनरलन्त्याद् इत्युच्यते

Suppose *alaḥ* is taken as nominative plural denoting the *jāti al*.

एवमप्यन्त्योऽविशेषितो भवति If so, the final is not restricted.

तत्र को दोषः? What harm is there?

सङ्घातादपि पूर्वस्योपधासंज्ञा प्रसज्येत

That which precedes the final *saṅghāta* may chance to get the *upadhāsaṁjñā*.

तत्र को दोषः? What harm is there?

शास इदङ् हलोः, शिष्टः शिष्टवान् - शकारस्य इत्त्वं प्रसज्येत । सूत्रं च भिद्यते

If so, *ś* of *śās* will be replaced by *i* by the *sūtra* '*Śāsa idaṅ halōḥ*,' so that the forms *śiṣṭaḥ* and *śiṣṭavān* cannot be secured. Besides the *sūtra* has to be modified.

NOTE :—The word *alaḥ* has to be replaced by *al*.

यथान्यासमेवास्तु Let the *sūtra* remain as it is.

ननु चोक्तम् 'उपधासंज्ञायामल्ग्रहणमन्त्यनिर्देशश्चेत् सङ्घातप्रतिषेधः इति

Oh, it has been said that there is need for *saṅghātapratiṣēdha* if *alaḥ* in *upadhāsaṁjñāsūtra* is restricted by *antyasya*.

नैष दोषः This difficulty does not arise.

अन्त्यविज्ञानात्सिद्धम् It is accomplished from *antyavijñāna.*

सिद्धमेतत् This is accomplished.

कथम्? How?

अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्तीत्यन्त्यस्य भविष्यति

The final element will be operated upon by the application of '*Alōsntyasya*' (1, 1, 52).

अन्त्यविज्ञानात्सिद्धमिति चेन्नानर्थकेऽलोऽन्त्यविधिरनभ्यासविकारे

It cannot be accomplished from '*Alōntyasya*' since it does not apply to the meaningless other than *abhyāsavikāra.*

अन्त्यविज्ञानात्सिद्धमिति चेत् तन्न

If it is said that it is accomplished through *antyavijñāna,* it is not so.

किं कारणम्? Why?

नानर्थकेऽलोन्त्यविधिरनभ्यासविकारे । अनर्थकेऽलोन्त्यविधिर्न इत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या

On account of the *paribhāṣā,* '*Nānarthakē alōntyavidhir anabhyāsavikārē.*' It is necessary to admit the *paribhāṣā* that *alōntyavidhi* does not operate in meaningless elements.

किमविशेषेण? Is it without restriction?

नेत्याह 'No,' says he.

अनभ्यासविकारे In the modifications other than *abhyāsa.*

अभ्यासविकारान् वर्जयित्वा - भृञामित्, अर्तिपिपर्त्योश्च इति

Except the modifications in the *abhyāsa,* as in the operation of the *sūtras* '*Bhṛñām it*' (7, 4, 76), '*Artipipartyōśca*' (7, 4, 79).

कान्येतस्याः परिभाषायाः प्रयोजनानि?

What are the benefits accrued from this *paribhāṣā*?

प्रयोजनमव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इतौ

Benefit is found in the operation of the *sūtra* '*Avyaktānukaraṇasyāta itāu*' (6, 1, 98).

अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इतौ इत्यन्त्यस्य प्राप्नोति । अनर्थके अलोऽन्त्यविधिर्न भवतीति न दोषो भवति ।

The operation of the *sūtra Avyaktānukaraṇasya ata itāu* chances to affect the final letter and it is set at naught by the *paribhāṣā Anarthakē alōntyavidhir na bhavati.*

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति नान्त्यस्य पररूपं भवतीति, यदयं नाम्रेडितस्यान्त्यस्य तु वा इत्याह ।

This does not serve as a *prayōjana.* The procedure of *Ācarya* (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests that the final letter alone does not take *pararūpa,* since he reads *antyasya tu vā* in the *sūtra* '*Nāmrēḍitasyāntyasya tu vā*' (6, 1, 99).

घ्वसोरेद्धावभ्यासलोपश्च

(Benefit) in the operation of the *sūtra Ghvasōr ēt hāu abhyāsalōpaśca* (6, 4, 119).

घ्वसोरेद्धावभ्यासलोपश्चेत्यन्त्यस्य प्राप्नोति । अनर्थके अलोन्त्यविधिर्न इति न दोषो भवति ।

Ēt and *abhyāsalōpa* in *ghu* and *as* chance to happen to the final letter. It is avoided by *Anarthakē alōntyavidhir na.*

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । पुनर्लोपवचनसामर्थ्यात् सर्वस्य भविष्यति

This, too, does not form a *prayōjana.* They happen to the whole on the strength of the mention of the word *lōpa* in this *sūtra* also, (though it may be taken here from the previous *sūtra* '*Lōpō yi*).'

अथ वा शित् लोपः करिष्यते, स 'शित्सर्वस्य' इति सर्वादेशो भविष्यति

Or the *lōpa* willl be made *śit.* On account of the *sūtra* '*Anēkāl śit sarvasya*' (1, 1, 55), there will be *sarvādēśa.*

स तर्हि शकारः कर्तव्यः If so, *śakāra* is to be read.

न कर्तव्यः No, it need not be read.

क्रियते न्यास एव द्विशकारको निर्देशो घ्वसोरेद्धावभ्यसलोपश्श्च इति ।

Two *śakāras* are read in the *sūtra* itself thus—*Ghvasōrēddhāvabhyāsalōpaśśca.*

आपि लोपोऽकोऽनचि

(Benefit) in the operation of the *sūtra Āpi lōpōskōsnaci.*

तिष्ठति सूत्रम्? Is the *sūtra* read in this form.

NOTE:—The *vārttika* seems to suggest that it was the *sūtra* of *Pūrvācāryas* and *Sūtrakāra* has modified it into *Hali lōpaḥ* since *akaḥ* and *āpi* may be taken by *anuvṛtti* from the previous *sūtra.*

अन्यथा व्याख्यायते It is read in another form.

आपि हलि लोपः इत्यन्त्यस्य प्राप्नोति । अनर्थके अलोऽन्त्यविधिर्नेति न दोषो भवति ।

Lōpa of the final of *idam* may chance to happen if it is followed by *āp* commencing with a consonant and this difficulty is avoided by '*Anarthakē alōntyavidhir na*'.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । अन एव लोपं वक्ष्यामि

This, too, is not a *prayōjana.* I shall state that this *sūtra* enjoins the *lōpa* of *an.*

NOTE:—The *sūtra Anāpyakaḥ* (7, 2, 112) enjoins that *id* of *idam* is replaced by *an.*

तदनो ग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

An should, then, be read in the *sūtra.*

न कर्तव्यम् । प्रकृतमनुवर्तते

No, it need not be read. It is in this context and is taken here by *anuvṛtti.*

क्व प्रकृतम्?

What is the *sūtra* in the context wherefrom there is *anuvṛtti.*

अनाप्यकः The *sūtra* '*Anāpyakaḥ*' (17, 2, 112).

तद्वै प्रथमानिर्दिष्टम्, षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टेन चेहार्थः ।

It is read there in the nominative case; but genetive case is needed here.

'हलि' इति एषा सप्तमी अनिति प्रथमायाः षष्ठीं प्रकल्पयिष्यति - तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य इति

The word *hali* which is in the seventh case enables the nominative *an* to be changed to genetive *anaḥ* on the capacity of the *paribhāṣā* '*Tasminniti nirdiṣṭē pūrvasya*'.

अत्र लोपोऽभ्यासस्य

(Benefit) in the operation of the *sūtra* '*Atra lōpōsbhyāsasya*' (7, 4, 58).

अत्र लोपो अभ्यासस्य इत्यन्त्यस्य प्राप्नोति । नानर्थके अलोन्त्यविधिरिति न दोषो भवति ।

The elision of the final of the *abhyāsa* of *mī*, *mā*, *ghu*, *rabha* etc. chances to appear by the *sūtra* *Atra lōpōsbhyāsasya*. It is avoided by the dictum '*Nānarthakē alōntyavidhiḥ*'.

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । अत्रग्रहणसामर्थ्यात् सर्वस्य भविष्यति ।

This, too, is not a *prayōjana*. The *lōpa* occurs to the whole *abhyāsa* on the strength of the word *atra* read here.

अस्त्यन्यद् अत्रग्रहणस्य प्रयोजनम्

Another purpose is served by reading *atra*.

किम्? What?

सन्नधिकारोऽपेक्ष्यते — इह मा भूत् दधौ ददौ

The needed *adhikāra* of *san* is suggested, so that the *lōpa* may not take place in *dadhāu* and *dadāu*.

अन्तरेणाप्यत्रग्रहणं सन्नधिकारमपेक्षिष्यामहे

Even without the word *atra* here, it is possible for us to take the *adhikāra* of *san*.

संस्तर्हि सकारादिरपेक्ष्यते — सनि सकारादाविति - इह मा भूत् जिज्ञापयिषति इति

If so, it suggests that it takes place in *san* commencing with *s*, so that it may not take place in *jijñāpayiṣati*.

अन्तरेणाप्यत्रग्रहणं सनं सकारादिमपेक्षिष्यामहे

Even without the word *atra* it is possible for us te take *san* commencing with *s*.

प्रकृतयस्तर्ह्यपेक्ष्यन्ते, एतासां प्रकृतीनां लोपो यथा स्यात्, इह मा भूत् पिपक्षति, यियक्षति ।

There is need for the suggestion of the stem so that there is *lōpa* of these stems and there is no *lōpa* in *pipakṣati* and *yiyakṣati*.

अन्तरेणाप्यत्रग्रहणमेताः प्रकृतीरपेक्षिष्यामहे

Even without the word *atra* it is possible for us to understand that there is *lōpa* of these stems.

विषयस्तर्हि अपेक्ष्यते - मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणो वा इति । इह मा भूत् मुमुक्षति गाम् इति

The place of operation is then to be suggested, as in '*Mucōs-akarmakasya guṇō vā*' (7, 4, 57), so that it may not happen in *mumukṣati* in the sentence *mumukṣati gām*.

अन्तरेणाप्यत्रग्रहणमेतं विषयमपेक्षिष्यामहे

Even without the word *atra*, the place of operation can be suggested.

कथम्? How?

अकर्मकस्येत्युच्यते, तेन यत्रैवायं मुचिरकर्मकः तत्रैव भविष्यति ।

The word *akarmakasya* is read and hence the rule operates where the root *muc* is intransitive.

तस्मान्नार्थोऽनया परिभाषया - नानर्थकेऽलोन्त्यविधिः इति

Hence this *paribhāṣā* '*Na anarthakē alōntyavidhiḥ*' is not needed.

अलोऽन्त्यात् पूर्वोऽलुपधेति वा

Or the *sūtra* may be read *Alōntyāt pūrvōsl upadhā*.

अथ वा व्यक्तमेव पठितव्यम् - अलोऽन्त्यात् पूर्वोऽल् उपधासंज्ञो भवति इति

Or the *sūtra* should be clearly worded thus :—*Alōntyāt pūrvōsl upadhā*, so that the *al* which precedes the final *al* may take the *upadhāsaṁjñā*.

तर्हि वक्तव्यम् It must be so read then.

न वक्तव्यम् - No, it need not be so read.

अवचनाल्लोकविज्ञानात्सिद्धम्

It is decided from the worldly experience without its mention here.

अन्तरेणापि वचनं लोकविज्ञानात्सिद्धमेतत्-तद्यथा, लोके 'अमीषां ब्राह्मणानामन्त्यात् पूर्व आनीयताम्' इत्युक्ते यथाजातीयकोऽन्त्यः तथाजातीयकोऽन्त्यात् पूर्व आनीयते

This is decided from the experience of the world even without its mention in the *sūtra*. If it is said that one who precedes the last one among these brahmans may be brought, the person who belongs to the same class as that of the last is alone brought.

NOTE:—From this it is clear that *alaḥ* in the *sūtra* is taken to be genetive singular. But *Kāiyaṭa* mentions that there is no harm even if it is taken to be genetive singular or nominative plural thus:—*Ṣaṣṭhīprathamayōr api na dōṣaḥ. Ṣaṣṭhīpakṣē nirdhāraṇē ṣaṣṭhī.... Prathamābahuvacanapakṣē'pi ayam arthaḥ — antyāt pūrvō al upadhāsaṁjña iti — Alaḥ iti jātāu bahuvacanam.*

तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य (1, 1, 66)

तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य (1, 1, 67)

There are *three* topics dealt with here: (1) The *udāharaṇas* for these two *sūtras* (2) The *prayōjana* of the word *nirdiṣṭē* in the *sūtra*. (3) The need for these two *sūtras*.

I

किमुदाहरणम्? What is the *udāharaṇa* here?

इह तावत् 'तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य' इति इको यणचि दध्यत्र, मध्वत्र। इह 'तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य' इति द्व्यन्तरुपसर्गेभ्योऽप ईत्-द्वीपम्, अन्तरीपं, समीपम्।

Firstly the *udāharaṇa* of '*Tasminniti nirdiṣṭē pūrvasya*' is '*Ikō yaṇ aci*' by which the forms *dadhyatra* and *madhvatra* are secured. Then the *udāharaṇa* of '*Tasmād ityuttarasya*' is '*Dvyantarupasargēbhyō'pa īt* (6, 3, 97) by which the forms *dvīpam*, *antarīpam* and *samīpam* are secured.

अन्यथाजातीयकेन शब्देन निर्देशः क्रियते, अन्यथाजातीयक उदाह्रियते
Sūtra is read with one word and *udāharaṇa* is given containing another.

NOTE :—The objection is that the words *tasmin* and *tasmāt* which are found in the *paribhāṣāsūtras* are not found in the *udāharaṇasūtras*.

NOTE :— 2. The *pratyaya thāl* suggests *prakāratva* and the *pratyaya jātīyar*, *prakāravattva* ; hence the expression *anyajātīyakēna* is better than *anyathājātīyakēna*.

किं तर्हि उदाहरणम् ? What, then, is the *udāharaṇa?*

इह तावत् तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य इति, तस्मिन्नणि च युष्माकास्माकौ इति । तस्मादित्युत्तरस्येति तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि इति ।
Firstly the *udāharaṇa* of '*Tasminniti nirdiṣṭē pūrvasya*' is '*Tasminnaṇi ca yuṣmākāsmākāu*' (4, 3, 2) and that for '*Tasmād ityuttarasya*' is '*Tasmācchasō naḥ puṁsi*' (6, 1, 103)

इदं चाप्युदाहरणम् — 'इको यणचि', 'द्व्यन्तरुपसर्गेभ्योऽप ईत्' इति
These too are the *udāharaṇa*—'*Ikō yaṇ aci*', '*Dvyantarupasargēbhyōऽpa īt.*'

कथम्? How?

सर्वनाम्नाऽयं निर्देशः क्रियते; सर्वनाम च सामान्यवाचि; तत्र सामान्ये निर्दिष्टे विशेषा अप्युदाहरणानि भवन्ति ।
Mention is here made through a pronoun; pronoun denotes genus; when the genus is referred to, individual cases too appear as *udāharaṇas*.

NOTE :—*Siddhāntavādin* tells us that *tasmin iti* means *saptamī* and *tasmād iti* means *pañcamī*, since *Sūtrakāra* has said that generally a word in *Aṣṭādhyāyī* refers to its form and since *śāstrakāras* have taken that the word *iti* changes the meaning of the word. *Cf. Itiśabdaḥ padārthaviparyāsakṛt.*

किं पुनः सामान्यं, को वा विशेषः?
What, then, is genus and what is individuality?

गौः सामान्यं, कृष्णो विशेषः
Cow is genus and a black one is individuality.

न तर्हि इदानीं कृष्णः सामान्यं भवति, गौर्विशेषो भवति?

Does not then *kṛṣṇa* become genus and *gāuḥ* individuality?

भवति च It may also be so.

यदि तर्हि सामान्यमपि विशेषः, विशेषोऽपि सामान्यं, सामान्यविशेषौ न प्रकल्पेते ।

f, then, *sāmā nya* can be *viśēṣa* and *vice versa*, it is not possible to decide whether one denotes genus or individuality.

प्रकल्पेते च They can be decided.

कथम्? How?

विवक्षातः From the desire of the speaker.

यदाऽस्य गौः सामान्येन विवक्षितो भवति कृष्णो विशेषत्वेन, तदा गौः सामान्यं कृष्णो विशेषः । यदा कृष्णः सामान्येन विवक्षितो भवति गौर्विशेषत्वेन विवक्षितः, तदा कृष्णः सामान्यं गौर्विशेषः ।

If it is his desire that *gō* should denote genus and *kṛṣṇa* should denote individuality, *gō* denotes genus and *kṛṣṇa* individuality. If, on the other hand, it is his desire that *kṛṣṇa* should denote genus and *gō* individuality, *kṛṣṇa* denotes genus and *gō* individuality.

अपर आह — प्रकल्पेते च

Another says that they can be decided

कथम्? How?

पितापुत्रवत् Like father and son.

तद्यथा - स एव कञ्चित्प्रति पिता भवति कञ्चित्प्रति पुत्रो भवति । एवमिहापि स एव कञ्चित्प्रति सामान्यं, कञ्चित्प्रति विशेषः

It is illustrated thus :—The same person is father to one and son to another. So also the same thing may be considered genus with reference to one and individuality with reference to another.

एते खल्वपि नैर्देशिकानां वार्त्ततरका भवन्ति ये सर्वनाम्ना निर्देशाः क्रियन्ते । एतैर्हि बहुतरकं व्याप्यते ।

Those that are referred to by pronouns are found most suitable; for their range is wide.

NOTE :—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* reads against *nāirdēśikānām*— *bōdhaprayōjanakānām śabdānām madhyē*.

II

अथ किमर्थमुपसर्गेण निर्देशः क्रियते?

What for is the word *nirdiṣṭē* used in the *sūtra*?

NOTE :— 1. Even though the expression *upasargēṇa nirdēśaḥ* means *mention of upasarga, Kāiyaṭa* tells us that the question is not why *dīṣṭē* alone is not used, since the root *diś* without the preposition is *dānārthaka*.

NOTE :— 2. Even though '*Atha kimartham upasargēṇa nirdēśaḥ kriyatē*' here, and '*Atha nirdiṣṭagrahaṇam kimartham*' later on, convey the same meaning, the latter serves as the introduction to the *vārttika* '*Nirdiṣṭagrahaṇam ānanataryārtham*' and this is the additional information given by the *Mahābhāṣyakāra* on the same.

शब्दे सप्तम्या निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य कार्यं यथा स्यात्, अर्थे मा भूत् जनपदे, अतिशायने इति।

So that the *kārya* may take place to the preceding one if *śabda* is denoted by the *saptamyanta* and not if *artha* is denoted by the same as in *janapadē, atiśāyanē*.

NOTE :—*Janapadē* and *atiśāyanē* in the *sūtras Janapadē lup* (4, 2, 81) and *Atiśāyanē tamabiṣṭhanāu* (5, 3, 55) denote *artha* and not *śabda*.

किं गतमेतदुपसर्गेण, आहोस्वित् शब्दाधिक्याद् अर्थाधिक्यम्?

Is this understood through the capacity of the *upasarga* in the word *nirdiṣṭē* or by the whole word *nirdiṣṭē* following the dictum '*Śabdādhikyād arthādhikyam*?'

गतमित्याह

'It is understood (through *upasarga*)', says he.

कथम् How?

निरयं बहिर्भावे वर्तते - तद्यथा निष्क्रान्तो देशाद् निर्देशः - बहिर्देश इति गम्यते। शब्दश्च शब्दाद् बहिर्भूतः, अर्थोऽबहिर्भूतः ।

This *upasarga* denotes *bahirbhāva* (outside existence). Hence *nirdēśaḥ* is derived thus:- *niṣkrāntō dēśāt* and *bahirdēśa* is understood from it. *Śabda* is outside the range of another *śadba*; but *artha* of *śabda* is not outside its range.

अथ निर्दिष्टग्रहणं किमर्थम्?

What purpose, is then, served by the word *nirdiṣṭa* ?

निर्दिष्टग्रहणमानन्तर्यार्थम् The word *nirdiṣṭa* is for *ānantarya*.

निर्दिष्टग्रहणं क्रियते। आनन्तर्यार्थम् - आनन्तर्यमात्रे कार्यं यथा स्यात् - इको यणचि - दध्यत्र, मध्वत्र; इह मा भूत् - समिधौ, समिधः, दृषदौ, दृषदः।

The word *nirdiṣṭa* is read. For the sake of *ānantarya*—so that *kārya* may take place to the immediately associated, as in *dadhyatra*, *madhvatra* from the *sūtra* '*Ikō yaṇ aci*' and not to one not immediately preceding or following, as in *samidhāu*, *samidhaḥ*, *dṛṣadāu*, *dṛṣadaḥ*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* does not agree with the *prayōjana* of the word *nirdiṣṭa* suggested by *Mahābhāṣyakāra* and says that, in that case, the *sūtra* should have been read thus - *Tasminniti śabdē pūrvasya*. But it seems that the views of *Vārttikakāra* and *Mahābhāṣyakāra* do not contradict each other.

III

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते? What for are these *sūtras* read?

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads:—*Kim niyamārtham atha ṣaṣṭhī-praklptyartham iti praśnaḥ*.

तस्मिंस्तस्मादिति पूर्वोत्तरयोर्योगाविशेषान्नियमार्थं वचनं दध्युदकं पचत्योदनम्

Since *saptamīvibhakti* and *pañcamīvibhakti* can both have the relationship of *pūrvatva* and *uttaratva*, this statement (i.e. the two *sūtras*) is for *niyama*, as in *dadhyudakam* and *pacatyō-danam*.

तस्मिंस्तस्मादिति पूर्वोत्तरयोर्योगयोरविशेषात् नियमार्थोऽयमारम्भः

Since *saptamīvibhakti* and *pañcamīvibhakti* can have equally the relationship of *pūrvatva* and *uttaratva*, the reading of these *sūtras* is for *niyama.*

ग्रामे देवदत्तः, पूर्वः पर इति सन्देहः । ग्रामाद् देवदत्तः, पूर्वः पर इति सन्देहः
In the statement '*Grāmē Dēvadattaḥ*,' there is the doubt whether the relationship between *grāma* and *Dēvadatta* is *pūrvatva* or *paratva.* (Similarly) in the statement '*Grāmād Dēvadattaḥ*,' there is the doubt whether the relationship between *grāma* and *Dēvadatta* is *pūrvatva* or *paratva.*

एवमिहापि 'इको यणचि'-दध्युदकं, पचत्योदनम्, उभाविकौ उभावचौ; अचि पूर्वस्य अचि परस्य इति सन्देहः । 'तिङ्ङतिङः' इति अतिङः पूर्वस्य अतिङः परस्य इति सन्देहः ।
So also here in the examples *dadhyudakam* and *pacatyōdanam* of the *sūtra* '*Ikō yaṇ aci*' both are *iks* and both are *acs.* There is the doubt whether it is '*aci pūrvasya*' or '*aci parasya.*' In the *sūtra* '*Tiṅṅatiṅaḥ*' there is the doubt whether it is '*atiṅaḥ pūrvasya*' or '*atiṅaḥ parasya.*'

NOTE:—It deserves the consideration of scholars whether the expressions *dadhyudakam* and *pacatyōdanam* in the *vārttika* and the phrase *dadhyudakam... ubhāvacāu* in the *bhāṣya* are interpolations, since similar expressions relating to the *sūtra* '*Tiṅṅatiṅaḥ*' are absent.

इष्यते चात्र अचि पूर्वस्य स्याद् अतिङश्च परस्य इति । तच्चान्तरेण वचनं न सिध्यतीति नियमार्थं वचनम् । एवमर्थमिदमुच्यते
And it is desired here to take *pūrvasya* with *aci* and *parasya* with *atiṅaḥ.* Since it cannot be accomplished without its being mentioned, the reading of the *sūtras* is for the sake of *niyama.* It is for this they are read.

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत्? Is this the *prayōjana?*

किं तर्हीति? What then?

अथ यत्रोभयं निर्दिश्यते, किं तत्र पूर्वस्य कार्यं भवति आहोस्वित् परस्येति
It is to decide whether, when both are mentioned in a *sūtra*, the *kārya* happens to that which precedes or to that which follows.

उभयनिर्देशे विप्रतिषेधात्पञ्चमीनिर्देशः

If both are read, the latter *sūtra* operates on account of *vipratiṣēdha*.

उभयनिर्देशे विप्रतिषेधात् पञ्चमीनिर्देशो भविष्यति

The latter *sūtra* will operate through *vipratiṣēdha* if both are read.

NOTE :— *Kāiyaṭa* reads '*Sūtrapāṭhāpēkṣayā paratvasya vyavasthāpakatvam*' to meet the objection that, in *kāryakāla-pakṣa*, there is no *pāurvāparya* and consequently *vipratiṣēdha* cannot operate.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? What is the *prayōjana* ?

प्रयोजनमतो लसार्वधातुकानुदात्तत्वे

Prayōjana, from this, is found with reference to the *anudāttatva* of *lasārvadhātuka*.

वक्ष्यति 'तास्यादिभ्योऽनुदात्तत्वे सप्तमीनिर्देशोऽभ्यस्तसिजर्थः' इति । तस्मिन् क्रियमाणे, तास्यादिभ्यः परस्य लसार्वधातुकस्य, लसार्वधातुके परतस्तास्यादीनाम् इति सन्देहः । तास्यादिभ्यः परस्य लसार्वधातुकस्य ।

(*Vārttikakāra*) is going to read (under the *sūtra Tāsyanudāttēt* ... (6, 1, 186) the *vārttika* '*Tāsyādibhyōsnudāttatvē saptamī-nirdēśōsbhyastasijarthaḥ*'. If it is done (i. e. if *lasārvadhātukē* is read), there arises the doubt whether the *kārya* is to *lasārva-dhātuka* following *tāsyādi* or to *tāsyādi* followed by *lasārva-dhātuka*. (From *vipratiṣēdha*) it is decided that it is to *lasārva-dhātuka* following *tāsyādi*.

बहोरिष्ठादीनामादिलोपे

(Benefit is) with reference to the *ādilōpa* of *iṣṭha* etc. after *bahu*.

बहोरुत्तरेषामिष्ठेमेयसाम्, इष्ठेमेयःसु परतः बहोः इति सन्देहः । बहोरुत्तरेषा-मिष्ठेमेयसाम् ।

There is the doubt whether the *kārya* is to *iṣṭhā*, *imā* and *īyas* following *bahu* or to *bahu* when followed by *iṣṭhā, imā* and *īyas* and it is decided that it is to *iṣṭhā, imā*, and *īyas* following *bahu*.

NOTE :—The *sūtra* under reference is *Bahōr lōpō bhū ca bahōḥ* (6, 4, 158). *Iṣṭhēmēyaḥsu* is found in (6, 4, 154). If the *lōpa* mentioned in the *sūtra* is to *bahu*, there is *anuvṛtti* to *iṣṭhēmēyaḥsu* as it is ; if, on the other hand, the *lōpa* is to *iṣṭha* etc., there should be *anuvṛtti* to *iṣṭhēmēyasām*. It is not so found in that *sūtra* The *saptamī* there has to be changed to *ṣaṣṭhī*.

गोतो णित् (Benefit is) with reference to *ṇit* after *gō*.

गोतः परस्य सर्वनामस्थानस्य, सर्वनामस्थाने परतो गोतः इति सन्देहः । गोतः परस्य सर्वनामस्थानस्य

There is the doubt whether the *ṇidvadbhāva* is to *sarvanāmasthāna* following *gō* or to *gō* followed by *sarvanāmasthāna* and it is decided that it happens to the *sarvanāmasthāna* following *gō*.

NOTE :—There is the word *sarvanāmasthānē* in (7, 1, 86). It is taken here by *anuvṛtti* and changed to *sarvanāmasthānasya*.

रुदादिभ्यः सार्वधातुके

(Benefit is) with reference to *sārvadhātuka* after *rudādi*.

रुदादिभ्यः परस्य सार्वधातुकस्य, सार्वधातुके परतः रुदादीनामिति सन्देहः । रुदादिभ्यः परस्य सार्वधातुकस्य ।

There is the doubt whether *iḍāgama* is to the *sārvadhātuka* following *rudādi* or to *rudādis* followed by *sārvadhātuka* and it is decided that it is to the *sārvadhātuka* following *rudādi*.

आने मुगीदासः

(Benefit is) with reference to *īt* in the *sūtra* *Īdāsaḥ* (7, 2, 83) following *Ānē muk* (7, 2, 82).

आस उत्तरस्य आनस्य, आने परत आसः इति सन्देहः । आस उत्तरस्य आनस्य

There is the doubt whether *īttva* happens to *āna* following *ās* or to *ās* followed by *āna* and it is decided that it is to *āna* following *ās*.

NOTE :—*Ānē*, after *anuvṛtti*, is changed to *ānasya*.

आमि सर्वनाम्नः सुट्

(Benefit is) with reference to *suṭ* in the *sūtra* '*Āmi sarva-nāmnaḥ suṭ*' (7, 1, 52).

सर्वनाम्नः उत्तरस्यामः, आमि परतः सर्वनाम्नः इति सन्देहः । सर्वनाम्न उत्तरस्यामः ।

There is the doubt whether the *suṭ* is to *ām* following *sarva-nāma* or to *sarvanāma* followed by *ām* and it is decided that it is to *ām* following *sarvanāma*.

घेर्ङित्याण्नद्याः

(Benefit is) with reference to *āḍāgama* in the *sūtra* '*Āṇ nadyāḥ*' (7, 3, 112) following the *sūtra* '*Ghēr ṅiti.*'

नद्या उत्तरेषां ङिताम्, ङित्सु परतो नद्या इति सन्देहः । नद्या उत्तरेषां ङिताम् ।

Doubt arises whether *āḍāgama* is to *ṅits* following *nadyanta* or to *nadyanta* followed by *ṅits* and it is decided that it is to *ṅits* following *nadyanta*.

NOTE :—There is *anuvṛtti* to *ṅiti* in the *sūtra* '*Āṇ nadyāḥ.*'

याडापः

(Benefit is) with reference to *yāḍāgama* in the *sūtra* '*Yāḍ āpaḥ*' (7, 3, 113).

आप उत्तरस्य ङितः, ङिति परत आप इति सन्देहः । आप उत्तरस्य ङितः ।

Doubt arises whether the *yāḍāgama* is to *ṅit* following *āp* or to *āp* followed by *ṅit* and it is decided that it is to *ṅit* following *āp*.

NOTE :—There is *anuvṛtti* to *ṅiti* from the *sūtra* '*Ghēr ṅiti*' (7, 3, 111).

ङमो ह्रस्वादचि ङमुण्नित्यम्

(Benefit is) with reference to *ṅamuṭ* in the *sūtra*.

ङम उत्तरस्याचः, अचि परतो ङम इति सन्देहः । ङम उत्तरस्याचः

Doubt arises whether *ṅamuṭ* is to the *ac* following *ṅam* or to the *ṅam* followed by *ac* and it is decided that it is to the *ac* following *ṅam*.

विभक्तिविशेषनिर्देशानवकाशत्वादविप्रतिषेधः

Impropriety of *vipratiṣēdha* on account of *anavakāśatva* of *vibhakti-viśēṣa-nirdēśa.*

विभक्तिविशेषनिर्देशस्य अनवकाशत्वाद् अयुक्तोऽयं विप्रतिषेधः। सर्वत्रैवात्र कृतसामर्थ्या सप्तमी, अकृतसामर्थ्या पञ्चमी इति कृत्वा पञ्चमीनिर्देशो भविष्यति।

This *vipratiṣēdha* is not proper since the mention of a particular *vibhakti* (*pañcamī*) is not put to use. The *saptamī*, in all cases here, has been made use of and *pañcamī* is not so and hence the *kārya* of *pañcamī* will take place.

यथार्थं वा षष्ठीनिर्देशः

(Need for) the mention of *ṣaṣṭhī* to every *viṣaya.*

यथार्थं वा षष्ठीनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः। यत्र पूर्वस्य कार्यमिष्यते तत्र पूर्वस्य षष्ठी कर्तव्या; यत्र परस्य कार्यमिष्यते तत्र परस्य षष्ठी कर्तव्या।

There is need to use *ṣaṣṭhī* after every *viṣaya. Ṣaṣṭhī* should be suffixed to the former, if there is *kārya* to it and *ṣaṣṭhī* should be suffixed to the latter if there is *kārya* to it.

स तर्हि तथा निर्देशः कर्तव्यः Then it should be read accordingly.

न कर्तव्यः। अनेनैव प्रक्लृप्तिर्भविष्यति - तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य षष्ठी, तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य षष्ठीति।

No, it need not. It is decided by this: Where there is mention of *saptamī, ṣaṣṭhī* is to that which precedes and where there is mention of *pañcamī, ṣaṣṭhī* is to that which follows.

तत्तर्हि षष्ठीग्रहणं कर्तव्यम् If so, *ṣaṣṭhī* is, then, to be read.

न कर्तव्यम्। प्रकृतमनुवर्तते

No, it need not be read. It is taken by *anuvṛtti* since it is in this *prakaraṇa.*

क्व प्रकृतम्?

What is the *sūtra* in the context whence it is taken by *anuvṛtti*?

षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा इति The *sūtra Ṣaṣṭhī sthānēyōgā.*

प्रकल्पकमिति चेत् नियमाभावः

If it is *prakalpaka*, there cannot be *niyama*.

प्रकल्पकमिति चेद् नियमस्याभावः । उक्तं चैतत् - नियमार्थोऽयमारम्भः

If it is taken as the suggestive element of the *anuvṛtti* of *ṣaṣṭhī*, it cannot be taken to suggest *niyama*. But it was said that this attempt (the reading of the two *sūtras*) is for *niyama*.

प्रत्ययविधौ खल्वपि पञ्चम्यः प्रकल्पिकाः स्युः

Besides the *pañcamīs* may chance to become *prakalpikas* in *pratyayavidhi*.

तत्र को दोषः? What harm is there ?

'गुप्तिज्किद्भ्यः सन्' — गुप्तिज्किद्भ्यः इत्येषा पञ्चमी 'सन' इति प्रथमायाः षष्ठीं प्रकल्पयेत्, तस्मादित्युत्तरस्येति

The *pañcamī gup-tij-kidbhyaḥ* in the *sūtra* '*Gup-tij-kidbhyaḥ san*' (3, 1, 5) will enable the *prathamā san* to change to *ṣaṣṭhī* on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Tasmād ityuttarasya*.'

अस्तु Let it be.

न कश्चिदन्य आदेशः प्रतिनिर्दिश्यते

No other is enjoined as *ādēśa*.

तत्रान्तर्यतः सनः सन्नेव भविष्यति

San itself may become the *ādēśa* of *san* through closest similarity.

नैवं शक्यम् । तत्र[1] इत्संज्ञा न प्रकल्पेत । उपदेश इतीत्संज्ञोच्यते

It is not possible. *N* of *san* cannot there be considered *it* (since the second *san* is only an *ādēśa* and not an *upadēśa*). *It-saṁjñā* is enjoined only when it is in *upadēśa*.

प्रकृतिविकाराव्यवस्था च

Non-discrimination of *prakṛti* and *vikāra* also.

प्रकृतिविकारयोश्च व्यवस्था न प्रकल्पते — इको यणचि, अचीत्येषा सप्तमी यणिति प्रथमायाः षष्ठीं प्रकल्पयेत्, तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य इति ।

1. Bombay Edition omits तत्र

Discrimination of *prakṛti* and *vikāra* cannot be secured. In the *sūtra Ikō yaṇ aci*, the *saptamī aci* may enable the *prathamā yaṇ* to be changed to *ṣaṣṭhī* on the strength of '*Tasminniti nirdiṣṭē pūrvasya.*'

सप्तमीपञ्चम्योश्च भावादुभयत्र षष्ठीप्रक्लृप्तिस्तत्रोभयकार्यप्रसङ्गः

The presence of both *saptamī* and *pañcamī* enables *ṣaṣṭhī-praklpti* both ways and hence there is chance for the *kārya* of both to set in.

सप्तमीपञ्चम्योश्च भावादुभयत्रैव षष्ठी प्राप्नोति । तास्यादिभ्य इत्येषा पञ्चमी लसार्वधातुक इत्यस्याः सप्तम्याः षष्ठीं प्रकल्पयेत् तस्मादित्युत्तरस्येति । तथा लसार्वधातुक इत्येषा सप्तमी तास्यादिभ्यः इति पञ्चम्याः षष्ठीं प्रकल्पयेत् तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्येति ।

Since both *saptamī* and *pañcamī* exist, there is chance for *ṣaṣṭhī* both ways. The *pañcamī tāsyādibhyaḥ* may change the *saptamī lasārvadhātukē* into *ṣaṣṭhī* on the strength of *Tasmād ityuttarasya.* Similarly the *saptamī lasārvadhātukē* may change the *pañcamī tāsyādibhyaḥ* into *ṣaṣṭhī* on the strength of *Tasminniti nirdiṣṭē pūrvasya.*

तत्र को दोषः ? What is the harm there ?

तत्रोभयकार्यप्रसङ्गः - उभयोः कार्यं तत्र प्राप्नोति

Chance for *ubhayakārya* there—The *kārya* of both may chance to appear there.

नैष दोषः

This difficulty (i. e. the four objections raised above) will not arise.

यत्तावदुच्यते प्रकल्पकमिति चेन्नियमाभाव इति, माभून्नियमः

With reference to the first objection, '*Prakalpakam iti cēd niyamābhāvaḥ*', let there be no *niyama.*

सप्तमीनिर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य षष्ठी प्रकल्प्यते, पञ्चमीनिर्दिष्टे परस्य । यावता सप्तमीनिर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य षष्ठी प्रकल्प्यते एवं [1] पञ्चमीनिर्दिष्टे परस्य । नोत्सहते सप्तमीनिर्दिष्टे परस्य कार्यं भवितुं, नापि पञ्चमीनिर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य ।

When there is *saptamīnirdēśa*, *ṣaṣṭhīprakalpanam* is to that which precedes, and when there is *pañcamīnirdēśa*, *ṣaṣṭhī-*

1. Bombay Edition omits एवम्

prakalpanam is to that which follows. In the manner in which there is *ṣaṣṭhīprakalpanam* to the *pūrva* when there is *saptamīnirdēśa*, there is *ṣaṣṭhīprakalpanam* to the *para* when there is *pañcamīnirdēśa*. When there is *saptamīnirdēśa*, it is not possible for the *para* to get the *kārya* and when there is *pañcamīnirdēśa*, it is not possible for the *pūrva* to get the *kārya*.

यदप्युच्यते 'प्रत्ययविधौ खल्वपि पञ्चम्यः प्रकल्पिकाः स्युः' इति, सन्तु प्रकल्पिकाः

With reference to the second objection '*Pratyayavidhāu khalvapi pañcamyaḥ prakalpikāḥ syuḥ*', let them become *prakalpikas*.

ननु चोक्तं 'गुप्तिज्किद्भ्यः सन्' इत्येषा पञ्चमी सन्निति प्रथमायाः षष्ठीं प्रकल्पयेत् तस्मादित्युत्तरस्येति ।

Oh, it was said that the *pañcamī Gup-tij-kidbhyaḥ* in the *sūtra* '*Gup-tij-kidbhyaḥ san*' will enable the *prathamā san* to change to *ṣaṣṭhī* on the strength of '*Tasmād ityuttarasya*'.

परिहृतमेतत्-न कश्चिदन्य आदेशः प्रतिनिर्दिश्यते, तत्रान्तर्यतः सनः सन्नेव भविष्यति इति ।

This was answered thus :— There is no other *ādēśa* that is enjoined and *san* itself may become the *ādēśa* of *san* there through close similarity.

ननु चोक्तं, नैवं शक्यम् इत्संज्ञा न प्रकल्पेत, उपदेश इतीत्संज्ञोच्यते इति ।

Oh, it was raised as the objection that it was not possible for *n* to get the *it-saṁjñā*, since it is enjoined only in *upadēśa*.

स्यादेष दोषो यदीत्संज्ञा आदेशं प्रतीक्षेत । तत्र खलु कृतायामित्संज्ञायां लोपे च कृते, आदेशो भविष्यति । उपदेश इति हि इत्संज्ञोच्यते ।

This objection may stand if *it-saṁjñā* has to wait for *ādēśa*. *Ādēśa* takes place after the achievement of *it-saṁjñā* and its consequent elision. For *it-saṁjñā* is said to have reference only in *upadēśa*.

अथ वा नानुत्पन्ने सनि प्रक्लृप्त्या भवितव्यम् । यदा चोत्पन्नः सन्, तदा कृतसामर्थ्या पञ्चमीति कृत्वा प्रक्लृप्तिर्न भविष्यति ।

Or there is no chance for *ṣaṣṭhīprakalpana* so long as *san* does not make its appearance. Even if it has made its appearance, there is no chance for *praklpti*, since *pañcamī* has played its part in enabling the *san* go along with the root.

यदप्युच्यते प्रकृतिविकाराऽव्यवस्था च इति, तत्रापि [1] कृता प्रकृतौ षष्ठी इक इति विकृतौ प्रथमा यणिति । यत्र च नाम सौत्री षष्ठी नास्ति, तत्र प्रक्लृप्त्या भवितव्यम् ।
With reference to the third objection '*prakṛtivikārāvyavasthā-ca*' there is *ṣaṣṭhī* in the *prakṛti* in the form of *ikaḥ* and there is *prathamā* in the *vikṛti* in the form of *yaṇ*. There is need for *praklpti* only if there is no *ṣaṣṭhī* in the *sūtra*.

अथ वा अस्तु तावद् इको यणचि इति नाम सौत्री षष्ठी । यदि चेदानीम् अचीत्येषा सप्तमी यणिति प्रथमायाः षष्ठीं प्रकल्पयेत् तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य इति अस्तु । न कश्चिदन्य आदेशः प्रतिनिर्दिश्यते ; तत्र आन्तर्यतः यणो यणेव भविष्यति ।
Or let the *sūtra* be '*Ikō yaṇ aci*' where there is *ṣaṣṭhī*. If, then, the *saptamī aci* changes the *prathamā yaṇ* into *ṣaṣṭhī yaṇaḥ*, let it do so. Since no other *ādēśa* is mentioned with reference to it, *yaṇ* becomes the *ādēśa* of *yaṇ* through close similarity.

यदप्युच्यते 'सप्तमीपञ्चम्योश्च भावादुभयत्र षष्ठीप्रक्लृप्तिस्तत्रोभयकार्यप्रसङ्गः' इति, नैष दोषः
The fourth objection '*Saptamī-pañcamyōśca bhāvād ubhayatra ṣaṣṭhīpraklptiḥ tatra ubhayakāryaprasaṅgaḥ*' cannot stand.

आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति 'नोभे युगपत्प्रकल्पिके भवतः' इति, यदयम् 'एकः पूर्वपरयोः' इति पूर्वपरग्रहणं करोति ।
The procedure of *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests that both cannot be *prakalpikā* at the same time, since he reads *pūrvapara* in the *sūtra* '*Ēkaḥ pūrvaparayōḥ*'.

NOTE :—In the opinion of the *Vārttikakāra* the two *sūtras* are for *niyama* and not for *ṣaṣṭhīpraklpti*, since he raises objections against the latter. But *Mahābhāṣyakāra* answers them. Whether he has leaning towards *ṣaṣṭhīpraklptipakṣa* in preference to *niyamapakṣa*, it is not easy to discern.

1. Bombay Edition reads अत्रापि

स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा (1-1-68)

There are *three* topics here :—(1) What is the use of the word *rūpam* in the *sūtra?* (2) What is the need for this *sūtra?* (3) Mention of contrivances to refer to *viśēṣas*, *paryāyas* etc.

I

रूपग्रहणं किमर्थम्? न 'स्वं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा' भवतीत्येव रूपं शब्दस्य संज्ञा भविष्यति? न ह्यन्यत्स्वं शब्दस्यास्त्यन्यद् अतो रूपात्

What for is the word *rūpa?* If the *sūtra* is read '*Svam śabdasya aśabdasaṁjñā*', does not *rūpa* become the *bōdhya* of *śabda?* For the *sva* of *śabda* is not different from its *rūpa*.

Note :—*Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* reads: -*Saṁjñāśabdaḥ bōdhyaparaḥ, karmavyutpattēḥ*.

एवं तर्हि, सिद्धे सति यद्रूपग्रहणं करोति, तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः अस्त्यन्यद्रूपात् स्वं शब्दस्येति ।

If so, from the fact that *Ācārya* has read *rūpa* even though its purpose is served by the word *sva*, he suggests that the *sva* of *śabda* is something other than *rūpa*.

किं पुनस्तत्? What is it then?

अर्थः - Meaning

किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजनम्?

What is the *prayōjana* of this suggestion?

अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्येत्येषा परिभाषा न कर्तव्या भवति

The *paribhāṣā* '*Arthavadgrahaṇē nānarthakasya*' need not be read.

II

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते? What is the need for this *sūtra?*

शब्देनार्थगतेरर्थे कार्यस्यासम्भवात् तद्वाचिनः संज्ञाप्रतिषेधार्थं स्वरूपवचनम्

The mention of the *sūtra* '*Svam rūpam* etc.' is to prevent the operation of the *saṁjñā* towards the words conveying the meaning conveyed by this *śabda*, since *śabda* denotes meaning and *kārya* is away from the range of the meaning.

शब्देनोच्चारितेनार्थो गम्यते - गामानय, दध्यशान इति अर्थ आनीयते, अर्थश्च भुज्यते ।

The meaning is understood when *śabda* is expressed. For instance when one says '*Gām ānaya*', the meaning of the word *gō* is brought and when one says '*Dadhi aśāna*', the meaning of the word (curd) is taken in.

अर्थे कार्यस्यासम्भवात् - इह च व्याकरणे अर्थे कार्यस्यासम्भवः । 'अग्नेर्ढक्' इति न शक्यते अङ्गारेभ्यः परो ढक् कर्तुम्

On account of the *kārya* not affecting the meaning—Here, in grammar, the rule does not operate on the meaning of *śabda*. From the *sūtra* '*Agnēr ḍhak*', it is not possible to suffix the red-hot charcoal with the *pratyaya ḍhak.*

शब्देनार्थगतेः, अर्थे कार्यस्यासम्भवात्, यावन्तः तद्वाचिनः शब्दाः तावद्भ्यः सर्वेभ्य उत्पत्तिः प्राप्नोति । इष्यते च तस्मादेव स्याद् इति । तच्चान्तरेण यत्नं न सिध्यतीति तद्वाचिनः संज्ञाप्रतिषेधार्थं स्वरूपवचनम् । एवमर्थमिदमुच्यते ।

Since meaning is suggested from the word and the rules of grammar do not operate on *artha,* it is possible for them to operate on all words which have the same meaning as the word mentioned. It is desired that it should operate only on the word that is mentioned. Since it cannot be accomplished without effort, the expression *svam rūpam* is read so that the *saṁjñā* may be prevented from reaching all the words having the same meaning other than the word mentioned. The *sūtra* is read to serve this purpose.

न वा शब्दपूर्वको ह्यर्थे सम्प्रत्ययस्तस्मादर्थनिवृत्तिः

No, knowledge of *artha* along with *śabda* ; hence non-application to the words having the same meaning.

न वैतत् प्रयोजनमस्ति

No, this is not the purpose served by the *sūtra.*

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

शब्दपूर्वको ह्यर्थे सम्प्रत्ययः

The knowledge in *artha* is associated with *śabda.*

आतश्च शब्दपूर्वकः

Hence it is preceded by the knowledge of *śabda.*

योऽपि ह्यसावाहूयते नाम्ना, नाम च यदानेन नोपलब्धं भवति तदा पृच्छति 'किं भवानाह' इति । शब्दपूर्वकश्चार्थस्य सम्प्रत्ययः ।

When one is addressed by his name, he says, 'What did you say?' when he does not catch the word. Hence the knowledge of *artha* is preceded by that of *śabda.*

इह च व्याकरणे शब्दे कार्यस्य सम्भवः, अर्थेऽसम्भवः । तस्मादर्थस्य निवृत्तिर्भविष्यति ।

Here, in grammar, operation of rules relates only to *śabda* and not to *artha.* Hence there will be non-application (of them) to words having the same meaning.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - अशब्दसंज्ञेति वक्ष्यामीति - इह मा भूत् 'दाधा घ्वदाप्' 'तरप्तमपौ घः' इति

This, then, is the *prayōjana* that the operation of the rules may not happen to the words *ghu* and *ghaḥ* mentioned in the *sūtras* '*Dādhāghvadāp*' '*Taraptamapāu ghaḥ*' on the strength of *aśabda-saṁjñā* in the *sūtra.*

शब्दसंज्ञाप्रतिषेधानर्थक्यं वचनप्रामाण्यात्

Non-need of *śabdasaṁjñāpratiṣēdha* on account of the validity of *vacana.*

[1] शब्दसंज्ञाप्रतिषेधश्चानर्थकः

It is unnecessary to prohibit the *saṁjñā* towards the words *ghu*, *ghaḥ* etc.

शब्दसंज्ञायां स्वरूपविधिः कस्मान्न भवति ?

How is it that the dictum '*Svam rūpam śabdasya*' does not operate in *śabdasaṁjñās* (like *ghu*)?

वचनप्रामाण्यात् - शब्दसंज्ञावचनसामर्थ्यात् ।

On account of the validity of *vacana,*—on account of the capacity of the *sūtras* enunciating the *saṁjñās* (like *ghu* etc.)

1. Bombay Edition reads शब्दसंज्ञायाः प्रतिषेधः

ननु च वचनप्रामाण्यात् संज्ञिनां सम्प्रत्ययः स्यात्, स्वरूपग्रहणाच्च संज्ञायाः ।

Oh ! let the recognition of the *saṁjñins* (of *ghu*) take place from *vacanaprāmāṇya* and let the recognition of *saṁjñā* (like *ghu*) too take place from this–the *svarūpagrahaṇasūtra.*

एतदपि नास्ति प्रयोजनम् । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति शब्दसंज्ञायां न स्वरूपविधिर्भवतीति, यदयं 'ष्णान्ता षट्' इति षकारान्तायाः सङ्ख्यायाः षट्संज्ञां शास्ति; इतरथा हि वचनप्रामाण्याच्च नकारान्तायाः सङ्ख्यायाः सम्प्रत्ययः स्यात्, स्वरूपग्रहणाच्च षकारान्तायाः ।

This, too, is not a *prayōjana.* The procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that there is no *svarūpavidhi* in *śabdasaṁjñā,* since he gives the *saṁjñā ṣat* to the word ending with *ṣ* (i. e. *ṣaṣ* itself) by the *sūtra* '*Ṣṇāntā ṣat*' (I, 1, 24). Otherwise the *saṁjñā* would reach the words ending in *n* through *vacanaprāmāṇya* and the word ending in *ṣ* (*ṣaṣ*) through *svarūpagrahaṇa.*

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । न हि षकारान्ता संज्ञा अस्ति

This is not a *jñāpaka;* for the *saṁjñā* does not end in *ṣ.*

का तर्हि ? What then does it end in ?

डकारान्ता It ends in *ḍ.*

असिद्धं जश्त्वं, तस्यासिद्धत्वात् षकारान्ता ।

Jaśtva is *asiddha* and hence it is to be taken to end in *ṣ.*

[1] **मन्त्राद्यर्थम्** For the sake of *mantra* etc.

मन्त्राद्यर्थं तर्हीदं वक्तव्यम् । मन्त्रे, ऋचि, यजुषि इति यदुच्यते तन्मन्त्रशब्दे ऋक्शब्दे यजुःशब्दे च मा भूत् ।

If so, there is need for this *sūtra* for the sake of *mantra* etc. That which is said with reference to *mantra, ṛk* and *yajus,* should not operate on the words *mantra, ṛk* and *yajus.*

NOTE :—1. *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* reads :- *Jñāpakam śāstrīyaśabdasaṁjñāyām na svarūpagrahaṇam ityartham bōdhayitum, na tu śabdārthakē ityāśayēna āha bhāṣyē—mantrādyartham iti.*

1. Bombay Edition omits this *Vārttika.*

NOTE:—2. The words *mantrē, ṛci* and *yajuṣi* are read in the following *sūtras*:—*Mantrē sōma*... (6, 3, 131), *Ṛci tu*... (6, 3, 133), *yajuṣyēkēṣām* (8, 3, 104).

मन्त्राद्यर्थमिति चेच्छास्त्रसामर्थ्यादर्थगतेः सिद्धम्

If it is read for the sake of *mantra* etc., it is decided by *arthagati* through *śāstrasāmarthya.*

मन्त्राद्यर्थमिति चेत्, तन्न

If it is said it is read for the sake of *mantra* etc., it is not.

किं कारणम्? Why?

शास्त्रस्य सामर्थ्याद् अर्थस्य गतिर्भविष्यति ।

Artha will be comprehended as the place of operation through the capacity of the *śāstra.*

मन्त्रे ऋचि यजुषीति यदुच्यते, मन्त्रशब्दे ऋक्शब्दे यजुश्शब्दे च तस्य कार्यस्य सम्भवो नास्तीति कृत्वा, मन्त्रादिसहचरितो योऽर्थस्तस्य गतिर्भविष्यति, साहचर्यात् ।

The *sūtra* ' which is read with the words *mantrē, ṛci* or *yajuṣi,* is taken to operate on the *artha* which is denoted by the word *mantra* etc., finding that it does not actually operate upon the words *mantra, ṛk* and *yajus.* The reason for doing so is *sāhacarya* (i. e.) the state of *śabda* and *artha* being always associated.

III

Since *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has some words referring to their *viśēṣas* alone, some to themselves and their *viśēṣas*, some to their *paryāyas* alone, some to themselves and their *paryāyas* and some to themselves, their *paryāyas* and *viśēṣas, Vārttikakāra* gives four *vārttikas* by way of supplement.

सित्तद्विशेषाणां वृक्षाद्यर्थम्

Reading of *s* as *it* so that *vṛkṣa* may refer to its *viśēṣa.*

सिन्निर्देशः कर्तव्यः । ततो वक्तव्यं तद्विशेषाणां ग्रहणं भवतीति

Reading of *s* as *it* (as *vṛkṣas, mṛgas*) is to be made. Then it should be mentioned that it comprehends its *viśēṣas.*

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

वृक्षाद्यर्थम् । विभाषा वृक्षमृग....इति । प्लक्षन्यग्रोधं, प्लक्षन्यग्रोधाः
So that the word *vṛkṣa* etc. in the *sūtra* '*Vibhāṣā vṛkṣa-mṛga-tṛṇa...*' (2, 4, 12) may refer to its *viśēṣa* in order that the forms *plakṣanyagrōdham*, *plakṣanyagrōdhāḥ* can be secured.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads:—*Ētad api nyāyasiddham - tulya-jātīyānām dvandva ēkavad bhavati iti vakṣyatē*.

पित् पर्यायवचनस्य च स्वाद्यर्थम्

Reading of *p* as *it* (as *svap*) so that *sva* may refer to itself and its *paryāyas*.

पिन्निर्देशः कर्तव्यः । ततो वक्तव्यं पर्यायवचनस्य च तद्विशेषाणां च ग्रहणं भवति, स्वस्य च रूपस्य इति

Reading of *p* as *it* (as *svap*) has to be made. Then it should be stated that it refers to *paryāyas*, *viśēṣas* and its own form.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

स्वाद्यर्थम् स्वे पुषः - स्वपोषं पुष्यति, रैपोषं, धनपोषं,[1] विद्यापोषं, गोपोषम्, अश्वपोषम् ।

For the sake of the word *sva* to refer to itself, its *viśēṣas* and its *paryāyas* in the *sūtra Svē puṣaḥ* (3, 4, 40) so that the forms *svapōṣam* in *svapōṣam puṣyati*, *rāipōṣam*, *dhanapōṣam*, *vidyā-pōṣam*, *gōpōṣam* and *aśvapōṣam* may be secured.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads:-*Idam vācanikam ēva*.

जित्पर्यायवचनस्यैव राजाद्यर्थम्

Reading of *j* as *it* (as *rājaj*) so that *rājan* etc. may refer to *paryāya* alone.

जिन्निर्देशः कर्तव्यः । ततो वक्तव्यं पर्यायवचनस्यैव ग्रहणं भवतीति ।

Reading of *j* as *it* is necessary and then it should be stated that it refers only to *paryāyas*.

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

1. Bombay Edition omits विद्यापोषम्

राजाद्यर्थं "सभा राजामनुष्यपूर्वा" इनसभम्, ईश्वरसभम् । तस्यैव न भवति राजसभा । तद्विशेषाणां च न भवति - पुष्यमित्रसभा[1], चन्द्रगुप्तसभा ।

So that *rājādi* in the *sūtra* '*Sabhā rājāmanuṣyapūrvā*' (2, 4, 23) may refer only to their *paryāyas* in order that the forms *inasabham* and *īśvarasabham* can be secured. It does not operate on itself allowing the form *rājasabhā* nor on its *viśēṣas* allowing the forms *Puṣyamitrasabhā* and *Candraguptasabhā*.

NOTE :— *Kāiyaṭa* reads :— *Idam nyāyasiddham ityāhuḥ. Arājēti paryudāsaḥ āśrīyatē.*

झित्, तस्य च तद्विशेषाणां च मत्स्याद्यर्थम्

Reading of *jh* as *it* so that *matsyādi* may refer to itself and its *viśēṣas.*

झिन्निर्देशः कर्तव्यः । ततो वक्तव्यं तस्य च ग्रहणं भवति तद्विशेषाणां च इति ।

Reading of *jh* as *it* is necessary and then it should be stated that it refers to itself and its *viśēṣas.*

किं प्रयोजनम्? Why?

मत्स्याद्यर्थम् - पक्षिमत्स्यमृगान् हन्ति - मात्सिकः । तद्विशेषाणाम् - शाफरिकः, शाकुलिकः । पर्यायवचनानां न भवति - अजिह्मान् हन्ति, अनिमिषान् हन्ति इति । एकस्य पर्यायवचनस्येष्यते - मीनान् हन्ति - मैनिकः

For the sake of *matsyādi* in the *sūtra* '*Pakṣimṛgān hanti* (4, 4, 35) so that the form *mātsikaḥ* and the forms of its *viśēṣa śāpharikaḥ* and *śākulikaḥ* may be secured and so that it may not apply to its *paryāyas ajimhān hanti, animiṣān hanti.* It holds good to only one of its *paryāya*, (i.e.) *māinikaḥ* which means *mīnān hanti.*

NOTE :—*Māinikaḥ* is the word which comes within the purview of the *sūtra* in the opinion of *Mahābhāṣyakāra.* It is evident that the word *mīna* is a Dravidian word derived

1. Bombay Edition reads पुष्पमित्रसभा

from the root *min̲* (to shine) and the root *min̲* is very productive in Tamil and other Dravidian Languages. Since *Mahābhāṣyakāra* mentions it, it is clear that it was borrowed by Sanskrit before his time. But it remains to be seen whether it found its place in Sanskrit before *Vārttikakāra*'s time. In this context it is worthy of note that *Kumārilabhaṭṭa* has recorded in his *Ślōkavārttika* Dravidian and foreign words which had crept in the Vedic literature.

अणुदित् सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः (1, 1, 69)

There are *two* topics dealt with here :- (1) What is the meaning of *apratyayaḥ?* (2) What is the need for *aṇ* in the *sūtra?*

I

अप्रत्यय इति किमर्थम् ? What is the meaning of *apratyaya?*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that the question means whether *pratyaya* refers to *vihita-pratyayasaṁjñāvatpratyaya* alone or to *yāugikapratyaya* also. *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* supplements it thus :— *Na ākṣēpōs-yam ; kintu viśēṣajijñāsā.*

सनाशंसभिक्ष उः, अ सांप्रतिके

U and *a* in the *sūtras* '*San-āśaṁsa-bhikṣa uḥ*' (3, 2, 168) and '*A sāmpratikē*' (4, 3, 9) (are included under *pratyaya*).

अत्यल्पमिदमुच्यते, अप्रत्यय इति । अप्रत्ययादेशटित्किन्मितः इति वक्तव्यम् । प्रत्यये उदाहृतम् । आदेशे इदम इश् - इतः इह । टिति - लविता, लवितुम् । किति - बभूव । मिति - हे अनड्वन्

The statement '*apratyayaḥ*' is very meagre. It should be read '*Apratyaya-ādēśa-ṭit-kin-mitaḥ*'. The example with reference to *pratyaya* was given. Those with reference to *ādēśa, ṭit, kit* and *mit* are *itaḥ, iha* by the *sūtra* '*Idama iś*', *lavitā lavitum, babhūva* and *hē anaḍvan.*

टितः परिहारः - आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति 'न टिता सवर्णानां ग्रहणं भवति' इति, यदयं ग्रहोऽलिटि दीर्घत्वं शास्ति ।

The addition of *tit* is not necessary. The procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that *tit* cannot comprehend *savarṇas*, since he enjoins *dīrghatva* in the *sūtra* '*Grahōsliṭi dīrghaḥ*' (7, 2, 37).

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् ; नियमार्थमेतत् स्यात् ग्रहोऽलिटि दीर्घ एवेति

This is not a *jñāpaka*. It is intended for *niyama* that it is the *dīrgha* alone that takes place with reference to *grah* in *lakāras* other than *liṭ*.

यर्त्तर्हि 'वृतो वा' इति विभाषां शास्ति

If so, he enjoins *vibhāṣā* in the rule *Vṛtō vā* (7, 2, 38)

सर्वेषामेष परिहारः, भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न इत्येवं भविष्यति ।

This, that a letter taught in a rule cannot refer to those homogeneous with it, will make all unnecessary.

प्रत्यये भूयान् परिहारः - अनभिधानात् प्रत्ययः सवर्णान्न ग्रहीष्यति । यान्हि प्रत्ययः सवर्णग्रहणेन गृह्णीयान्न तैरर्थस्याभिधानं स्यात् । अनभिधानान्न भविष्यति ।

There is an additional fact which makes the mention of *pratyaya* unnecessary. Those what are comprehended by *pratyaya* through *savarṇagrahaṇa* cannot denote the desired object and so, the *pratyaya* does not become *savarṇagrāhaka*.

इदं तर्हि प्रयोजनम् - इह केचित् प्रतीयन्ते, केचित् प्रत्याय्यन्ते । ह्रस्वाः प्रतीयन्ते, दीर्घाः प्रत्याय्यन्ते । यावद् ब्रूयात्[1] प्रत्याय्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न इति, तावद् अप्रत्यय इति

This, then, is the *prayōjana* for the mention of *apratyaya*. Here some are pronounced and some are comprehended. Short vowels are pronounced and long ones are comprehended. The word *apratyaya* is needed by one who wants to signify that it is not possible for comprehended ones to refer to their homogeneous letters.

कं पुनर्दीर्घः सवर्णग्रहणेन गृह्णीयात् ?

Which will *dīrgha* comprehend as *savarṇa*?

ह्रस्वम् - The short one

1. Bombay Edition reads यावच्च ब्रूते.

यत्नाधिक्यान्न ग्रहीष्यति

It does not comprehend it, since greater energy has been spent.

प्लुतं तर्हि गृह्णीयात् If so, it will comprehend *pluta*.

अनण्त्वान्न गृहीष्यति It will not comprehend it, it being *anaṇ*.

एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यदप्रत्यय इति प्रतिषेधं शास्ति, तद् ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो 'भवत्येषा परिभाषा भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न' इति

If so, since *Ācārya* has enjoined *pratiṣēdha* by the expression *apratyayaḥ* even though the object is otherwise secured, he suggests that there is need for this *paribhāṣā* '*Bhāvyamānēna savarṇānām grahaṇam na*'.

II

किमर्थं पुनरिदमुच्यते ? What for is this read ?

NOTE :—*Idam* refers to *aṇ* found in the *sūtra*.

अण् सवर्णस्येति स्वरानुनासिक्यकालभेदात्

Mention of *aṇ savarṇasya* on account of difference in *svara*, *nasalisation* and *mātrā*.

अण् सवर्णस्य इत्युच्यते

The expression '*Aṇ savarṇasya*' is read.

स्वरभेदाद् आनुनासिक्यभेदात् कालभेदाच्च अण् सवर्णान् न गृह्णीयात् । इष्यते च ग्रहणं स्याद् इति । तच्च अन्तरेण यत्नं न सिध्यतीत्येवमर्थमिदमुच्यते ।

Aṇ may not comprehend *savarṇas* on account of difference in tone, nasalisation and quantity. But it is desired that it should comprehend them. Thinking that it cannot be achieved without effort, it is read for that purpose.

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत् ? Can this be the *prayōjana ?*

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

तत्र प्रत्याहारग्रहणे सवर्णाग्रहणमनुपदेशात्

At the mention of *pratyāhāra*, non comprehension of *savarṇa*, on account of its not being read.

तत्र प्रत्याहारग्रहणे सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न प्राप्नोति - अकः सवर्णे दीर्घ इति
At the mention of *pratyāhāra* as *akaḥ* in '*Akaḥ savarṇē dīrghaḥ,*' there is no chance for the like letters to be comprehended.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

अनुपदेशात्
On account of their being not read in *pratyāhāra - sūtras.*

यथाजातीयकानां संज्ञा कृता तथाजातीयकानां सम्प्रत्यायिका स्यात् । ह्रस्वानां च क्रियते, ह्रस्वानामेव सम्प्रत्यायिका स्याद्, दीर्घाणां न स्यात् ।
The nature of the letters comprehended is exactly identical with that of the letters which form the *saṁjñā*. Since it is formed of the short letters alone, it can comprehend only short letters and not long ones.

ननु च ह्रस्वा प्रतीयमाना दीर्घान् सम्प्रत्याययिष्यन्ति
Oh, the short ones being comprehended may comprehend long ones.

ह्रस्वसम्प्रत्ययादिति चेदुच्चार्यमाणशब्दसम्प्रत्यायकत्वाच्छब्दस्यावचनम्
If it is said that *hrasva* can comprehend *dīrgha*, (it is not); that which is read can comprehend the same and that which is comprehended cannot comprehend another.

ह्रस्वसम्प्रत्ययादिति चेद् उच्चार्यमाणः शब्दः सम्प्रत्यायको भवति न सम्प्रतीयमानः । तद्यथा - ऋग् इत्युक्ते सम्पाठमात्रं गम्यते, नास्या अर्थो गम्यते ।
If it is said that a short one can comprehend long one, (it is not). That which is pronounced can comprehend another and not that which is comprehended. As an illustration, if one mentions *ṛk*, only the text is understood and not its meaning.

एवं तर्हि वर्णपाठ एवोपदेशः कारष्येत
If so, it is commented that they are considered to have been read in the *varṇapāṭha.*

वर्णपाठ उपदेश इति चेदवरकालत्वात् परिभाषाया अनुपदेशः
If the *upadēśa* is from *varṇapāṭha,* it is not, on account of the *avarakālatā* of *paribhāṣā.*

वर्णपाठ उपदेश इति चेद्, अवरकालत्वात् परिभाषाया अनुपदेशः

If it is said that it is commented upon that they are considered to have been read in the *varṇapāṭha*, it cannot be, since the *paribhāṣā* is much later.

किं परा सूत्रात् क्रियते इत्यतोऽवरकाला ?

Is it considered to be later, since it is composed later than *sūtra* ?

नेत्याह । सर्वथाऽवरकालैव । वर्णानामुपदेशस्तावत्, उपदेशोत्तरकालेत्संज्ञा, इत्संज्ञोत्तरकाल आदिरन्त्येन सहेता इति प्रत्याहारः, प्रत्याहारोत्तरकाला सवर्णसंज्ञा, सवर्णसंज्ञोत्तरकालं अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः इति । सैषा [1] उपदेशोत्तरकालाऽवरकाला सती वर्णानामुत्पत्तौ निमित्तत्वाय कल्पयिष्यत इत्येतन्न ।

"No," says he It is later in all ways. Firstly the *upadēśa* of *varṇas*, then *itsaṁjñā* after it, then the *pratyāhāra* by the *sūtra* '*Ādir antyēna sahētā*' after *itsaṁjñā*, then *savarṇasaṁjñā* after *pratyāhāra* and the *sūtra* '*Aṇ udit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ*' after *savarṇasaṁjñā*. This, being much later than *upadēśakāla*, cannot stand as *nimitta* towards the *utpatti* of *varṇas*.

तस्मादुपदेशः Hence is the need for *upadēśa*.

तस्मादुपदेशः कर्तव्यः

Hence they must be read (in the *pratyāhārasūtras*).

तत्रानुवृत्तिनिर्देशे सवर्णाग्रहणमनण्त्वात्

Even then the *non-grahaṇa* of *savarṇa* in *anuvṛttinirdēśa*, it being *anaṇ*.

तत्रानुवृत्तिनिर्देशे सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न प्राप्नोति, अस्य च्वौ, यस्येति च ।

Even then there is no chance for them to comprehend like letters in *anuvṛttinirdēśa* like *asya* and *yasya* in the *sūtras* '*Asya cvāu*' (7, 4, 32) and *Yasyēti ca* (6, 4, 148).

NOTE :—1. *Anuvṛttinirdēśa* is explained thus by *Nāgēśa bhaṭṭa* :—*vṛttim varṇasamāmnāyam, anugataḥ = tatsadṛśaḥ, anuvṛttiḥ = akārādiḥ ; tasya nirdēśaḥ = svarūpēṇa uccāraṇam.*

1. Bombay Edition reads :—सैषा अवरकाला । उपदेशोत्तरकाला वर्णानाम्....

NOTE :—2. The portion from here to the end of this *sūtra* is partly dealt with in the *sūtra Aiuṇ* in the second *āhnika*.

किं कारणम् ? Why ?

अनण्त्वात् - Since it is not *aṇ*.

न ह्येते अणो येऽनुवृत्तिनिर्देशे

These, the letters which are in *anuvṛttinirdēśa*, are not *aṇah*.

के तर्हि ? What then ?

येऽक्षरसामाम्नाय उपदिश्यन्ते

Only those which are read in *pratyāhārasūtras*.

एवं तर्हि अनण्त्वादनुवृत्तौ न, अनुपदेशाच्च प्रत्याहारे न; उच्यते चेदम् अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति इति । तत्र वचनाद्भविष्यति ।

If so, that which is in *anuvṛtti* is not *savarṇagrāhaka* on account of its being *anaṇ* and that which is in *pratyāhāra* is not so on account of the long letters etc. not being read in the *sūtras*; but it is said that *aṇ* comprehends *savarṇa*. Hence it takes place on the authority of the *vacana*.

वचनाद्यत्र तन्नास्ति

That which is said as *vacanād bhaviṣyati* does not hold good.

NOTE :—It may be said that there is no *vivakṣā* to *saptamyartha* in *yatra* here as in *kva* in the first *āhnika* and *anyatra* in *Anyatra dharmāt* in the *Kaṭhōpaniṣad*. But *Kāiyaṭa* reads: '*anantarōktam ubhayam yatra nāsti Akōcītyādāu*'.

नेदम् वचनाल्लभ्यम् This cannot be got from *vacana*.

अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतदस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्

There is another *prayōjana* for this *vacana*.

किम् ? What ?

य एते प्रत्याहाराणामादितो वर्णास्तैः सवर्णानां ग्रहणं यथा स्यात्

So that *savarṇagrahaṇa* may be got by those letters originally read in the *sūtras*.

एवं तर्हि If so.

सवर्णेऽण्ग्रहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतिग्रहणात्

The word *aṇ* need not be read in *savarṇagrāhakasūtra* and the aim is reached thro' *ākṛtigrahaṇa*.

सवर्णे अण्ग्रहणमपरिभाष्यम्

The word *aṇ* need not be read in the *sūtra* ' *Aṇ udit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ*.'

कुतः ? Why ?

आकृतिग्रहणात् By taking recourse to *ākṛtigrahaṇa*.

अवर्णाकृतिरुपदिष्टा सर्वमवर्णकुलं ग्रहीष्यति । तथेवर्णाकृतिः, तथोवर्णाकृतिः

Avarṇākṛti, being mentioned, comprehends the whole family of *a*. So is *ivarṇākṛtiḥ* and so is *uvarṇākṛtiḥ*.

ननु चान्या आकृतिरकारस्य अन्या आकारस्य च

Oh ! the *ākṛti* of *akāra* is different from that of *ākāra*.

अनन्यत्वाच्च Of their being not of different *ākṛti*.

अनन्याकृतिरकारस्याकारस्य च

Akāra and *ākāra* are not of different *ākṛti*.

अनेकान्तो ह्यनन्यत्वकरः

For that which is *aniyata* does not make (objects) different.

यो ह्यनेकान्तेन भेदो नासावन्यत्वं करोति । तद्यथा - न यो गोश्च गोश्च भेदः सोऽन्यत्वं करोति । यस्तु खलु गोश्च अश्वस्य च भेदः सोऽन्यत्वं करोति ।

For the difference which does not always exist does not make (two objects) different. This may be illustrated thus :—The difference which exists between one cow and another cow does not make them different. On the other hand that which exists between a cow and a horse does make them different.

अपर आह Another says.

सवर्णेऽण्ग्रहणमपरिभाष्यमाकृतिग्रहणादनन्यत्वम्

Aṇ need not be read in the *savarṇagrāhakasūtra* ; they are not different from *ākṛtigrahaṇa*.

सवर्णेऽण्ग्रहणमपरिभाष्यम् । आकृतिग्रहणात् अनन्यत्वं भविष्यति । अनन्याकृतिरकारस्य आकारस्य च ।

Aṇ need not be read in the *sūtra* '*Aṇ udit*...'. Oneness is secured by taking recourse to *jatipakṣa*. *Akāra* and *ākāra* belong to the same genus.

अनेकान्तो ह्यनन्यत्वकरः

For that which is *aniyata* makes (two) belong to the same.

यो ह्यनेकान्तेन भेदो नासावन्यत्वं करोति । तद्यथा -- न यो गोश्च गोश्च भेदः सोऽन्यत्वं करोति । यस्तु खलु गोश्च अश्वस्य च भेदः सोऽन्यत्वं करोति ।

For the difference which is *aniyata* does not make (two objects) different. This may be illustrated thus:—The difference that exists between one cow and another cow does not make them belong to different genus. On the other hand that which exists between a cow and a horse does make them belong to different genus.

तद्वच्च हल्ग्रहणेषु

The same view being held in *sūtras* dealing with consonants.

एवं च कृत्वा हल्ग्रहणेषु सिद्धं भवति झलो झलि - अवात्ताम् अवात्तम् अवात्त, यत्रैतन्नास्ति अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णातीति ।

Only on account of this, object is achieved in *sūtras* dealing with consonants where there is no room for the operation of the dictum '*Aṇ savarṇān gṛhṇāti*,' as in the *sūtra* '*Jhalō jhali*' (8, 2, 26) which explains the forms *avāttām, avāttam, avātta*.

अनेकान्तो ह्यनन्यत्वकरः

For non-lasting difference does not make objects different.

इत्युक्तार्थम् This has been explained.

द्रुतविलम्बितयोश्चानुपदेशात्

On account of the non-reading in *druta* and *vilambita*.

द्रुतविलम्बितयोश्चानुपदेशान्मन्यामहे आकृतिग्रहणात् सिद्धम् इति, यदयं कस्यांचिद् वृत्तौ वर्णानुपदिश्य सर्वत्र कृती भवति ।

Since there is no *upadēśa* in *drutavṛtti* and *vilambitavṛtti*, it is decided that he takes recourse to *jātipakṣa*; for he feels himself satisfied by pronouncing the letters in one *vṛtti* or other so that it may refer to those in other *vṛttis*.

अस्ति प्रयोजनमेतत् ? Is this the *prayōjana* ?

कि तर्हीति ? What then ?

वृत्तिपृथक्त्वं तु नोपपद्यते

It is not proper to classify them differently on the basis of *vṛtti*.

वृत्तेस्तु पृथक्त्वं नोपपद्यते

There is no *upapatti* for *pṛthaktva* through *vṛtti*.

तस्मात्तत्र तपरनिर्देशात्सिद्धम्

Hence it is achieved there through *taparanirdē* ,

तस्मात्तत्र तपरनिर्देशः कर्तव्यः

Hence there is need for *taparanirdēśa* there.

न कर्तव्यः । क्रियते एतन्न्यास एव 'अतो भिस ऐस्' इति ।

No; it need not be made. It is read in the *sūtra* '*Atō bhisa āis*' itself.

[1] **तपरस्तत्कालस्य (1, 1, 70)**

There are *two* topics here :—(1) Is *tat-kālasya* a correct; expression or not ? (2) Is this *sūtra apūrvavidhi* or *niyamavidhi* ?

I

अयुक्तोऽयं निर्देशः तत्कालस्येति - तद् इत्यनेन कालः प्रतिनिर्दिश्यते, तद् इत्ययं च वर्णः । तत्रायुक्तं वर्णस्य कालेन सह सामानाधिकरण्यम् ।

This expression - *tat-kālasya* is not correct; *kāla* is put in apposition with *tad* and *tad* denotes *varṇa*. Hence the appositional use of the word denoting *varṇa* with the word denoting *kāla* as *saḥ kālaḥ yasya* is incorrect.

कथं तर्हि निर्देशः कर्तव्यः ?

If so, what is the correct form of the expression ?

तत्कालकालस्य इति *Tat-kāla-kālasya*.

किमिदं तत्कालकालस्येति What is this—*tat-kāla-kālasya* ?

1. Bombay Edition reads तपरस्तत्कालस्य

तस्य कालः, तत्कालः, तत्कालः कालो यस्येति सोऽयं तत्कालकालः, तत्काल-कालस्य इति

Tat-kāla-kālasya is the genetive singular of *tat-kāla-kālaḥ* which is a *bahuvrīhi* compound whose *vigraha* is *tat-kālaḥ kalō yasya* where *tatkālaḥ* is split into *tasya kālaḥ*.

स तर्हि तथा निर्देशः कर्तव्यः It should, then, be read so.

न कर्तव्यः । उत्तरपदलोपोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः - तद्यथा, उष्ट्रमुखमिव मुखं यस्य सोऽयमुष्ट्रमुखः, खरमुखः ; एवं तत्कालकालस्तत्कालः, तत्कालस्येति

No, it need not be so read. The latter (of the two) is dropped here, It is illustrated thus :—*Uṣṭramukhaḥ* is the compound whose *vigrahavākya* is *uṣṭramukham iva mukham yasya*. The word *kharamukhaḥ* is of the same type. So also it may be considered that *tat-kāla-kālaḥ* has become *tat-kālaḥ* and its genetive singular is *tat-kālasya*.

अथ वा साहचर्यात्ताच्छब्द्यं भविष्यति । कालसहचरितो वर्णोऽपि काल एव

Or it (*kāla*) is denoted by that word (*tat*) on account of close association. Even the *varṇa* which is associated with *kāla* is evidently *kāla*.

II

किं पुनरिदं नियमार्थमाहोस्वित् प्रापकम् ?

Is this *niyamasūtra* or *apūrvavidhisūtra*?

कथं च नियमार्थं स्यात् ? कथं वा प्रापकम् ?

Under what circumstances may it be considered as *niyama-sūtra* and under what circumstances as *apūrvavidhisūtra*?

यद्यत्र अण्ग्रहणमनुवर्तते ततो नियमार्थम् । अथ निवृत्तं ततः प्रापकम्

If *aṇ* is taken here from the previous *sūtra*, it is *niyamavidhi* and if it is not, it is *apūrvavidhi*.

कश्चात्र विशेषः ?

What will be the difference in effect between the two ?

तपरस्तत्कालस्येति नियमार्थमितिचेत् दीर्घग्रहणे स्वरभिन्नाग्रहणम्

If the *sūtra Taparas tat-kālasya* is *niyamavidhi*, long letters cannot comprehend those which differ from them in *svara*.

तपरस्तत्कालस्येति नियमार्थमिति चेद् दीर्घग्रहणे स्वरभिन्नानां ग्रहणं न प्राप्नोति
Suppose the *sūtra* '*Taparas tatkālasya*' is a *niyamavidhi*; then, if long letters are mentioned, they cannot comprehend the same long letters which differ from them in *svara*.

केषाम् ? Of what ?

उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरितानुनासिकानाम्
Of *udātta*, *anudātta*, *svarita* and *anunāsika*.

अस्तु तर्हि प्रापकम् ? Let it, then, be *apūrvavidhi* ?

प्रापकमिति चेद्ध्रस्वग्रहणे दीर्घप्लुतप्रतिषेधः
If it is *apūrvavidhi*, there will be need for the *pratiṣēdha* of *dīrgha* and *pluta* where *hrasva* is mentioned.

प्रापकमिति चेद् ह्रस्वग्रहणे दीर्घप्लुतयोस्तु [1] प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः
If it is *prāpaka*, there is need to mention the *pratiṣēdha* to *dīrgha* and *pluta* when *hrasva* is mentioned.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads:—*Idam hi sūtram anaṇgrahaṇē caritārtham.*

न वक्तव्यः It need not be mentioned.

विप्रतिषेधात् सिद्धम्
It is decided by the dictum '*Vipratiṣēdhē param kāryam.*'

अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति इत्येतदस्तु, तपरस्तत्कालस्य इति वा । तपरस्तत्कालस्य इत्येतद्भवति विप्रतिषेधेन । अण् सवर्णान् गृह्णाति इत्यस्य अवकाशः ह्रस्वा अतपरा अणः । तपरस्तत्कालस्य इत्यस्य अवकाशः दीर्घास्तपराः । ह्रस्वेषु तपरेषु उभयं प्राप्नोति ; तपरस्तत्कालस्य इत्येतद् भवति विप्रतिषेधेन ॥

Let the *sūtra* '*Aṇ* ... *savarṇasya*...' stand and let the *sūtra* '*Taparas tatkālasya*' too. The *sūtra* '*Taparas tatkālasya*' operates on account of *vipratiṣēdha*. There is scope for *aṇ* to comprehend *savarṇa* when there is mention of *aṇs* which are short and are not *tapara*. There is scope for '*Taparas tatkālasya*' to operate when there is mention of *dīrghas* which

1. Bombay Edition omits तु

are *taparas*. When there is mention of *hrasvas* which are *taparas*, both the *sūtras* have a chance to operate and '*Taparas tat-kālasya*' operates though *vipratiṣēdhaśāstra*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads:—*Nanu ata iti takārōccāraṇasāmarthyāt anēnāiva grahaṇam bhaviṣyati, kim vipratiṣēdhāśrayēṇa. Nāitad asti. Mukhasukhārthasyāpi takārasya darśanāt.*

यद्येवम् If so,

द्रुतायां तपरकरणे मध्यमविलम्बितयोरुपसङ्ख्यानं कालभेदात्

On *taparakaraṇa* being made in *drutāvṛtti*, need for the *upasaṅkhyāna* of *madhyamāvṛtti* and *vilambitāvṛtti*, on account of the difference in *kāla*.

द्रुतायां तपरकरणे मध्यमविलम्बितयोरुपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । तथा मध्यमायां द्रुतविलम्बितयोः । तथा विलम्बितायां द्रुतमध्यमयोः

If *taparakaraṇa* is done in *drutāvṛtti*, there is need to read it in *madhyamā* and *vilambitā*; if it is similarly done in *madhyamā*, there is need to read it in *drutā* and *vilambitā*; and if it is similarly done in *vilambitā*, there is need to read it in *drutā* and *madhyamā*.

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति ?

What is the reason for its non-achievement?

कालभेदात्

On account of difference in the duration of pronunciation.

ये हि द्रुतायां वृत्तौ वर्णास्त्रिभागाधिकास्ते मध्यमायाम् । ये च मध्यमायां वर्णाः त्रिभागाधिकास्ते विलम्बितायाम् ।

The duration of the pronunciation of *varṇas* in *madhyamāvṛtti* is one and one-third of that in *drutāvṛtti* and that in *vilambitāvṛtti* is one and one-third of that in *madhyamāvṛtti*.

सिद्धं त्ववस्थिता वर्णा वक्तुश्चिराचिरवचनाद् वृत्तयो विशिष्यन्ते

It is achieved; *varṇas* are *niyatakālas*; *vṛttis* are based upon the quick or slow pronunciation of the speaker.

सिद्धमेतत् It (the purpose) is achieved.

कथम्? How?

अवस्थिता वर्णा द्रुतमध्यमविलम्बितासु

Varṇas are *niyatakālas* in *drutā, madhyamā* and *vilambitā*.

किं कृतस्तर्हि वृत्तिविशेषः? What is, then, *vṛttiviśēṣa* due to?

वक्तुश्चिराचिरवचनाद्वृत्तयो विशिष्यन्ते

Vṛttis play an additional part on account of the quick and slow pronunciation of the speaker.

वक्तैव कश्चित् आश्वभिधायी भवति - आशु वर्णान् अभिधत्ते, कश्चिच्चिरेण कश्चिच्चिरतरेण । तद्यथा - तमेवाध्वानं कश्चिदाशु गच्छति, कश्चिच्चिरेण गच्छति, कश्चिच्चिरतरेण गच्छति । रथिक आशु गच्छति, आश्विकश्चिरेण, पदातिश्चिरतरेण ।[1]

One speaker is quick in speech— (i.e.) pronounces sounds quickly; another is slow; and another is very slow. This is like one traversing the same path; one goes fast, one slowly and one very slowly; the charioteer goes fast, horseman slowly and footsoldier very slowly.

विषम उपन्यासः । अधिकरणमत्राध्वा व्रजतिक्रियायाः[2] । तत्रायुक्तं यदधिकरणस्य वृद्धिह्रासौ स्याताम् ।

The line of argument is not sound; the path is the *adhikaraṇa* to the act of going; it is not proper there for the *adhikaraṇa* to increase or decrease.

एवं तर्हि स्फोटः शब्दः, ध्वनिः शब्दगुणः

If so, *sphōṭa* is the *śabda* and *dhvani* is the *vyañjaka* of *śabda*.

कथम्? How?

भेर्याघातवत् Like the beater of a drum

तद्यथा - भेर्याघातो भेरीमाहत्य कश्चिद्विंशतिपदानि गच्छति, कश्चित्त्रिंशत्, कश्चिच्चत्वारिंशत् । स्फोटश्च तावानेव भवति । ध्वनिकृता वृद्धिः ।

This may be illustrated as follows:-One beater of a drum goes twenty steps at the time when the sound by beating the

1. Chaukhamba and Bombay editions add कश्चिच्चिरतमेन ... कश्चिच्चिरतमेन ... शिशुश्चिरतमेन

2. Bombay Edition reads व्रजिक्रियायाः

drum lasts, another thirty steps and another forty steps. Beating is the same. The increase is due to the sound produced by beating.

ध्वनिः स्फोटश्च शब्दानां ध्वनिस्तु खलु लक्ष्यते ।

अल्पो महांश्च केषांचिदुभयं तत्स्वभावतः ॥

With reference to *śabdas* there are *dhvani* and *sphōṭa.* Of them *dhvani* alone is cognisible to the sense of hearing. It is short, it is long and it is, by nature, both short and long at the hands of some.

आदिरन्त्येन सहेता (1, 1, 71)

आदिरन्त्येन सहेता इत्यसम्प्रत्ययः संज्ञिनोऽनिर्देशात्

Non-comprehension of the *sūtra* '*Ādir antyēna sahētā*' on account of the non-mention of *saṁjñin*.

आदिरन्त्येन सहेता इत्यसम्प्रत्ययः

The meaning of the *sūtra* '*Ādir antyēna sahētā*' is not understandable.

किं कारणम्? Why?

संज्ञिनोऽनिर्देशात् । न हि संज्ञिनो निर्दिश्यन्ते

On account of the non-mention of *saṁjñin* For the *saṁjñins* are not mentioned.

सिद्धं त्वादिरिता सह तन्मध्यस्येति वचनात्

The object is achieved by reading '*Ādir itā saha tan-madhyasya.*'

सिद्धमेतत् - It is achieved.

कथम्? How?

आदिरन्त्येन सहेता गृह्यमाणः स्वस्य च रूपस्य ग्राहकस्तन्मध्यानां चेति वक्तव्यम् ।

It is to be read that the letter at the beginning joined with the *it* at the end denotes itself and those between them.

NOTE:—*Svam* and *rūpam* are taken here by *anuvṛtti* from the *sūtra* '*Svam rūpam śabdasya aśabdasaṁjñā*' and they are changed to *svasya* and *rūpasya*.

सम्बन्धिशब्दैर्वा तुल्यम्

Or it is similar to *sambandhiśabdas.*

सम्बन्धिशब्दैर्वा तुल्यमेतत् । तद्यथा - सम्बन्धिशब्दाः मातरि वर्तितव्यं, पितरि शुश्रूषितव्यम् इति । न चोच्यते स्वस्यां मातरि, स्वस्मिन् पितरि इति । सम्बन्धाच्च गम्यते - या यस्य माता, यश्च [1] यस्य पितेति । एवम् इहापि आदिरन्त्य इति सम्बन्धिशब्दावेतौ । तत्र सम्बन्धाद् एतद् गन्तव्यं, यं प्रति य आदिः अन्त्य इति च भवति, तस्य ग्रहणं भवति, स्वस्य च रूपस्येति

Or it is similar to the words of relationship. This may be explained thus:—*Sambandhiśabdas* (are found in the expressions) *mātari vartitavyam* (there is the necessity to behave properly towards mother) and *pitari śuśrūṣitavyam* (there is the necessity to render service towards father). It is not said there *svasyām mātari* (towards one's mother) and *svasmin pitari* (towards one's father). From *sambandha* it is understood who is whose mother and who is whose father. Here also, in the *sūtra*, it should be understood that there is *grahaṇa* to that with reference to which one is taken as *ādyavayava* and another is taken as *antāvayava* and also to itself.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads:—*Svam rūpam tu ādēr ēva gṛhyatē, nāntyasya, tasya apradhānyāt. Nāgēśa* reads: *Ādyantaśabdābhyām avayavavācakābhyām avayavī samudāyaḥ ākṣipta iti sambandhitvēna aviśēṣād ādēr api grahaṇam; antyasya tu na. 'Ācārād apradhānatvāt lōpaśca balavattaraḥ' ityuktēr anyānubandhānām iva asyāpi saṁjñākāryābhāvāt.'*

येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य (1, 1, 72)

There are *four* topics dealt with here: (1) the need or otherwise of reading *prakṛtē tadantavidhiḥ* (2) the defects in the *sūtra* (3) the alterations in, and additions to, the *sūtra* and (4) the *prayōjana* of this *sūtra.*

I

इह कस्मान्न भवति, इको यणचि - दध्यत्र, मध्वत्र ?

1. Bombay Edition omits च

Why does not this *sūtra* operate here in the application of the *sūtra Ikō yaṇ aci* withe reference to *dadhyatra* and *madhvatra* ?

NOTE :— *Kāiyaṭa* reads here :– *Śabdānuśāsanaprastāvāt śabdarūpam ikā viśēṣyatē iti asti tadantasya prasaṅgaḥ.* But *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* says, ' *Yatsambandhī vidhiḥ sa tadantasya saṁjñā iti sūtrārtham matvā śaṅkā.*

अस्तु, अलोऽन्त्यस्य विधयो भवन्तीत्यन्त्यस्य भविष्यति ।

There is no harm ; *kārya* takes place to the final letter on the strength of *Alōntyasya.*

नैवं शक्यम् । ये अनेकाल आदेशास्तेषु दोषः स्यात् - एचोऽयवायावः इति ।

It is not possible to explain it in that manner, since it cannot hold good where *ādēśas* consist of more than one letter, as in the case of *Ecōsyavāyāvaḥ*.

नैष दोषः । यथैव प्रकृतितस्तदन्तविधिर्भवति, एवमादेशतोऽपि भविष्यति । तत्रैजन्तस्य अयाद्यन्ता आदेशा भविष्यन्ति ।

This objection cannot stand. As we take *tadantavidhi* with reference to *prakṛti*, so also do we take the same with reference to *ādēśa* thus :—Those that end in *ēc* take for their *ādēśa* those that end in *ay*, *av* etc.

यदि चैवं, क्वचिद् वैरूप्यं, ' तत्र दोषः स्यात् , ब्रह्मेन्द्रः, ब्रह्मोदकम्

If so, there is difference in some instances, as in *brahmēndraḥ* and *brahmōdakam* and difficulty may arise there.

NOTE :—Since *ēkādēśa* may be taken as the *anta* of the former member, or the *ādi* of the following member, there is difficulty for *tadantagrahaṇa* where the latter is adopted.

अपि च, अन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गे न प्रकल्पयेताम्

Besides, it may not be possible to decide which is *antaraṅga* and which is *bahiraṅga.*

तत्र को दोषः ? What harm will result there ?

स्योनः स्योना, अन्तरङ्गलक्षणस्य यणादेशस्य बहिरङ्गलक्षणो गुणो बाधकः प्रसज्येत ; ऊनशब्दमाश्रित्य यणादेशो नशब्दमाश्रित्य गुणः

In forming the words *syōnaḥ* and *syōnā*, *yaṇādēśa* which is of *antaraṅgalakṣaṇa* will be set at naught by *guṇa* which is of *bahiraṅgalakṣaṇa*; *yaṇādēśa* is dependent on *ūna* and *guṇa* is dependent on *na*.

NOTE :—The root is *siv* and it takes the *āuṇādikapratyaya na* after it Here there are chances for the following three *sūtras* to operate :-*Lōpō vyōr vali* (6, 1, 66) by which *v* may be dropped; '*Cchvōḥ ṣūḍ anunāsikē ca*' (6, 4, 19), by which *v* may be replaced by *ū*; and '*Pugantalaghūpadhasya*' (7, 3, 86) by which *i* may take *guṇa*. Here *Kāiyaṭa* reads :-*Apavādatvād ūṭhā valōpō bādhyatē; guṇastu antaraṅgatvād bādhyatē. Guṇō hi aṅgasambandhinīm iglakṣaṇām laghvīm upadhām ārdhadhātukañ ca āśrayati, ūṭh tu vakārāntam aṅgam anunāsikādim ca pratyayam iti alpāpēkṣatvāt antaraṅgaḥ; tatra kṛtē guṇaś ca prāpnōti yaśṇādēśaśca; tatra varṇamātrāpēkṣatvād yaṇādēśōऽnta-raṅgaḥ pravartatē* If we admit that there is *tadantavidhi*, it will be difficult to take *yaṇādēśa* to be of *antaraṅgalakṣaṇa*.

अल्विधिश्च न प्रकल्पेत - द्यौः पन्थाः स इति

Besides the *vidhi* which pertains to the final *al* of *div* etc. to secure the forms *dyāuḥ*,*panthāḥ* and *saḥ* will have no chance to operate.

NOTE :—If there is *tadantavidhi* in *alvidhi*, *āu* will replace *div* by the *sūtra* '*Diva āut*' so that the form *dyāuḥ* cannot be secured. Similarly *ntha* will replace *path* by the *sūtra* '*Thō nthaḥ*' (7, 1, 87) and hence the form *panthāḥ* cannot be secured. Similarly if *a* replaces *tyadādi* by the *sūtra* '*Tyadādīnām aḥ*' (7, 2, 102), there will be no occasion for the *sūtra* '*Tadōḥ saḥ sāvanantyayōḥ*' (7, 2, 106) to operate and hence the form *saḥ* cannot be secured.

तस्मात् 'प्रकृते तदन्तविधिः' इति वक्तव्यम्

Hence it is necessary to state that there is *tadantavidhi* if there is *viśēṣya* in the context.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that *prakṛtē* means *prastutē* and *prastāva* may be in three ways *kvacit sākṣāt... kvacid adhikārāt*

...*kvacid ākṣēpāt. Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* says '*Bhāṣyē prastuta-ityarthaka-prakṛtē ityasya viśēṣyē iti śēṣaḥ.*'

न वक्तव्यम् । येनेति करण एषा तृतीया । अन्येन च अन्यस्य च विधिर्भवति । तद्यथा — देवदत्तस्य समाशं शरावैः ओदनेन यज्ञदत्तः प्रतिविधत्ते । तथा सङ्ग्रामं हस्त्यश्वरथपदातिभिः । एवमिहापि अचा धातोर्यतं विधत्ते । आकारेण प्रातिपदिकस्य इञं विधत्ते ।

No, it need not be stated. The third case suffix in the word *yēna* is used in the sense of *karaṇa*. The action of one is achieved through another. This is illustrated thus:—*Dēvadatta's* food, *Yajñadatta* prepares, through dishes and rice. So also is a battle run through elephants, horses, chariots and foot-soldiers. In the same manner *Ācārya*, here also, enjoins *yat* to *dhātu* through *ac* and enjoins *iñ* to the *prātipadika* through *akāra*.

NOTE:—By the *sūtra* '*Acō yat*' (3, 1, 97), *yat* is enjoined to *ajantadhātu* and by the *sūtra* '*Ata iñ*' (4, 1, 95), *iñ* is enjoined to the *prātipadika* which is *adanta*.

II

येन विधिस्तदन्तस्येति चेद् ग्रहणोपाधीनां तदन्तोपाधिप्रसङ्गः

On admitting '*Yēna vidhis tadantasya*', there is chance for *tadantatva* to the specified portion of the *viśēṣaṇas* in the *sūtra.*

येन विधिस्तदन्तस्येति चेद् ग्रहणोपाधीनां तदन्तोपाधिताप्रसङ्गः । ये ग्रहणोपाधयः तेऽपि [1] तदन्तोपाधयः स्युः ।

If the dictum '*yēna vidhis tadantasya*' is admitted, there is chance for the specified portion of the *viśeṣaṇas* in the *sūtra* to have *tadantatva*. Those that are *grahaṇōpādhis*, even they may become *tadantōpādhis*.

तत्र को दोषः ? What harm is there ?

'उतश्च प्रत्ययादसंयोगपूर्वात्' इति असंयोगपूर्वग्रहणम् उकारान्तविशेषणं स्यात्

1, Bombay Edition omits अपि

The expression *asaṁyōgapūrvāt* in the *sūtra*, '*Utaśca pratyayād asaṁyōga pūrvāt*' (6, 4, 106) may be liable to take *ukārānta* as its *viśēṣaṇa*.

तत्र को दोषः ? What harm is there ?

असंयोगपूर्वग्रहणेन इहैव पर्युदासः स्यात् अक्ष्णुहि, तक्ष्णुहि इति ; इह न स्यात् आप्नुहि, शक्नुहि इति

Through the mention of *asaṁyōgapūrva* there will be *paryudāsa* only in the case of *akṣṇuhi* and *takṣṇuhi* and not in the case of *āpnuhi* and *śaknuhi*.

Note :—The '*sūtra* '*Utaśca* ...' enjoins *luk* of *hi* (imperative second person singular termination) if it follows the *aṅga* which ends in the *pratyaya u* which is not preceded by a conjunct consonant. Here *utaḥ* is in apposition with *pratyayāt* and not the *viśēṣaṇa* of *pratyayāt* and hence *utaḥ pratyayāt* is not taken in the sense of *udantāt pratyayāt*. If the latter interpretation were to be given, there would have been a chance for *hi* in *āpnuhi* and *śaknuhi* to be dropped, since *udantapratyaya nu* is *asaṁyōgapūrva*.

तथा उदोष्ठ्यपूर्वस्य इति ओष्ठ्यपूर्वग्रहणम् ऋकारान्तविशेषणं स्यात्

Similarly the expression *ōṣṭhyapūrva* in the *sūtra* '*Ud ōṣṭhyapūrvasya*' (7, 1, 102) may become the *viśēṣaṇa* of *ṝkārānta*.

Note :—There is *anuvṛtti* for *ṝtaḥ* here from the *sūtra* *Ṝtaiddhātōḥ* (1, 1, 100). *Ōṣṭhyapūrvasya* is taken in apposition with *ṝtaḥ*.

तत्र को दोषः ? What harm is there ?

ओष्ठ्यपूर्वग्रहणेन इह प्रसज्येत सङ्कीर्णम् सङ्गीर्णम् इति ; इह च न स्यात् निपूर्ताः पिण्डा इति ।

Through the mention of *ōṣṭhyapūrva*, the *uttva* may chance to appear in *saṅkīrṇam* and *saṅgīrṇam* and it may not appear in *nipūrtāḥ* in the phrase *nipūrtāḥ piṇḍāḥ*.

सिद्धं तु विशेषणविशेष्ययोर्यथेष्टत्वात्

It is evidently achieved on account of *viśēṣaṇa* and *viśēṣya* being related at one's pleasure.

सिद्धमेतत् This is achieved.

कथम् ? How ?

यथेष्टं विशेषणविशेष्ययोर्योगो भवति

The relation between *viśēṣaṇa* and *viśēṣya* may be chosen at our pleasure.

यावता यथेष्टम्, इह तावत्-'उतश्च प्रत्ययादसंयोगपूर्वात्' इति, नासंयोगपूर्वग्रहणेन उकारान्तं विशेष्यते ।

Since it is at our will, firstly here in the *sūtra* '*Utaśca pratyayād asaṁyōgapūrvād*', *asaṁyōgapūrva* is not made to qualify *ukārānta.*

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

उकार एव विशेष्यते-उकारो योऽसंयोगपूर्वः तदन्तात् प्रत्ययाद् इति ।

Ukāra alone is qualified, so that the *sūtra* may mean that *hi* is dropped after the *pratyaya* which has at its end *ukāra* which is not preceded by a conjunct consonant.

तथा 'उदोष्ठ्यपूर्वस्य' इति नौष्ठ्यपूर्वग्रहणेन ॠकारान्तं विशेष्यते ।

So also in the *sūtra* '*Ud ōṣṭhyapūrvasya*', *ōṣṭhyapūrva* is not made to qualify *ṝkārānta.*

किं तर्हि ? What then ?

ॠकार एव विशेष्यते-ॠकारो य ओष्ठ्यपूर्वस्तदन्तस्य धातोः इति

Ṝkāra alone is qualified, so that *u* may replace *ṝ* in the root which ends in *ṝ* which is preceded by a labial consonant.

NOTE :—From this it is clear that generally there is no *tadantavidhi* in the *viśēṣaṇa* of one which stands as the *viśēṣaṇa* of another. Hence *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* says, '*Evam ca vyākhyānād prakṛtē viśiṣṭasya vāiśiṣṭyam iti rītyāiva bōdhaḥ*'.

III

समासप्रत्ययविधौ च [1] प्रतिषेधः

Pratiṣēdha in *samāsavidhi* and *pratyayavidhi.*

1. Bombay Edition omits च

समासविधौ प्रत्ययविधौ च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः

Prohibition need be made in *samāsavidhi* and *pratyayavidhi*

समासविधौ तावत्-द्वितीया श्रितादिभिः समस्यते, कष्टश्रितः, नरकश्रितः । कष्टं परमश्रित इत्यत्र मा भूत् ।

Firstly in *samāsavidhi*. The *sūtra* '*Dvitīyā śrita - atīta* ...' (2, 1, 24) will have to operate only with reference *kaṣṭa-śritaḥ* and *narakaśritaḥ* etc. and not to *kaṣṭam paramaśritaḥ*.

NOTE :—*Tadantavidhi* is not applied to *śrita*, *atīta* etc.

प्रत्ययविधौ - नडादिभ्यः फक्, नडस्यापत्यं नाडायनः । इह न भवति सूत्र-नडस्यापत्यं सौत्रनाडिः

In *pratyayavidhi*. The *sūtra* '*Naḍādibhyaḥ phak*' (4, 1, 99) will have to operate with reference to *Naḍasya apatyam* = *Nāḍāyanaḥ*, and not with reference to *Sūtranaḍasya apatyam* which takes the form *Sāutranāḍiḥ*.

किमविशेषेण ? Is it without exception ?

नेत्याह - 'No', says he.

उगिद्वर्णग्रहणवर्जम्

उगिद्ग्रहणं वर्णग्रहणं च वर्जयित्वा । उगिद्ग्रहणम् - उगितश्च - भवती, अतिभवती; महती, अतिमहती । वर्णग्रहणम् - अत इञ् - दाक्षिः, प्लाक्षिः

Excepting *ugidgrahaṇa* and *varṇagrahaṇa*. With reference to *ugidgrahaṇa*, the *sūtra* '*Ugitaś ca*' (4, 1, 6) will have to operate to arrive at the forms *atibhavatī* and *atimahatī* similar to *bhavatī* and *mahatī*. With reference to *varṇagrahaṇa*, the *sūtra* '*Ata iñ*' (4, 1, 95) will have to operate to arrive at the forms *Dākṣiḥ Plākṣiḥ*.

अस्ति चेदानीं कश्चित्केवलोऽकारः प्रातिपदिकं यदर्थो विधिः स्यात् ?

Is there any *prātipadika* which is pure *a* alone, for which this *sūtra* may be intended ?

अस्तीत्याह; अततेर्डः अः, तस्यापत्यम्, अत इञ् इः

'Yes', says he; The stem *a* is derived from the root *at* by the addition of the *pratyaya ḍa*; the *sūtra* '*Ata iñ*' may operate on it to give the sense of his *apatya* to secure the form *iḥ*.

अकज्श्नम्वतः सर्वनामाव्ययधातुविधावुपसङ्ख्यानम्

Need of *upasaṅkhyāna* in *sarvanāmavidhi* and *avyayavidhi* with reference to *akajvat* and in *dhātuvidhi* with reference to *śnamvat.*

अकज्वतः सर्वनामाव्ययविधौ, श्नम्वतो धातुविधौ उपसङ्ख्यानं कर्तव्यम् ।

There is need for extending the operation of the *sūtra* in the *sarvanāmavidhi* and *avyayavidhi* with reference to stems having *akac* and in the *dhātuvidhi* with reference to *dhātus* having the *vikaraṇa śnam*.

अकज्वतः सर्वनामविधौ - सर्वके विश्वके, अव्ययविधौ - उच्चकैः नीचकैः

The forms *sarvakē* and *viśvakē* have to be secured in the *sarvanāmavidhi*, and *uccakāis* and *nīcakāis* have to be secured in the *avyayavidhi*, with reference to the stem having *akac*.

श्नम्वतः - भिनत्ति, छिनत्ति

The proper accent in *bhinatti* and *chinatti* has to be secured with reference to the roots having *śnam*.

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति ? Why are they not secured?

इह - तस्य वा ग्रहणं भवति, तदन्तस्य वा । न चेदं तद्, नापि तदन्तम्

Here it or that which ends in it is comprehended. This is neither the one nor the other.

NOTE:— *Kāiyaṭa* reads:- *Sarvaka iti-akaci kṛtē śībhāvō-na syāt. Uccakāir iti — tathāiva akaci kṛtē lug na syāt. Bhinattīti – dhātōr anta udāttō bhavati iti udāttatvam na syāt.*

सिद्धं तु तदन्तान्तवचनात्

It is definitely achieved by reading *tadantāntasya* in place of *tadantasya* (in the *sūtra*).

सिद्धमेतत् - This (the desired object) is achieved.

कथं ? How?

तदन्तान्तवचनात् - तदन्तान्तस्येति वक्तव्यम्

By reading *tadantānta.* The expression *tadantāntasya* should be read in place of *tadantasya.*

किमिदं तदन्तान्तस्येति ? What is it — *tadantantasya ?*

तस्य अन्तः = तदन्तः; तदन्तो अन्तो यस्य तद् इदं तदन्तान्तं, तदन्तान्तस्येति
Tadantāntasya is taken to be the genitive singular of *tadantāntam,* which is a *bahuvrīhi* compound of *tadanta* and *anta,* where *tadanta* is *ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa.*

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads :- '*Sarvaśabdasya yō antyō akāraḥ sōऽntyaḥ sarvakaśabdasya Evam, anyatrāpi yōjyam'.*

स तर्हि तथा निर्देशः कर्तव्यः
If so, it should be read in that form.

न कर्तव्यः । उत्तरपदलोपोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः । तद्यथा – उष्ट्रमुखमिव मुखमस्य, उष्ट्रमुखः, खरमुखः । एवम् इहापि तदन्तः अन्तो यस्य, सोऽयं तदन्तः, तदन्तस्येति
No, it need not be read so. It may be considered that there is *uttarapadalōpa* here. It may be explained thus :—Just as *uṣṭramukha* is the compound form of *uṣṭramukham iva mukham asya* and *kharamukha* is of the same type, so also *tadantasya* is taken as the genetive singular of *tadanta* which is the compound form of *tadantaḥ antō yasya.*

NOTE :—The defect in this argument is shown by *Kāiyaṭa* thus :- *Vācanikōऽtra lōpaḥ, na tu sāmarthyād gamyamānārthasya nivṛttir ityāhuḥ.*

तदेकदेशविज्ञानाद्वा सिद्धम्
Or it is achieved by taking that whole comprehends a part of it.

तदेकदेशविज्ञानाद्वा पुनः सिद्धमेतत्
Or this is achieved in another way by adopting the principle that whole refers to a part newly added to it.

तदेकदेशभूतस्तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते - तद्यथा, गङ्गा यमुना, देवदत्ता इति । अनेका नदी गङ्गां यमुनां च प्रविष्टा गङ्गायमुनाग्रहणेन गृह्यते । तथा देवदत्तास्थो गर्भो देवदत्ताग्रहणेन गृह्यते ।

Whole is taken to refer to that which has been added to it to form its part. This may be illustrated thus:—Many a river which enters the Ganges and the Jumna go by the name of the Ganges and the Jumna and the foetus in the womb of *Dēvadattā* is included in the mention of *Dēvadattā*. Hence *Gaṅgā*, *Yamunā* and *Dēvadattā* may be taken as examples.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads :-' *Madhyapātinō akajadayaḥ tadēka-dēśā iti tattvabuddhim na vighnanti.*'

विषम उपन्यासः । इह केचिच्छब्दा अक्तपरिमाणानाम् अर्थानां वाचका भवन्ति - य एते सङ्ख्याशब्दाः परिमाणशब्दाश्च - पञ्च सप्त इति, एकेनाप्यपाये न भवन्ति; द्रोणः खारी आढकम् इति, नैवाधिके भवन्ति न न्यूने । केचिद्यावदेव तद्भवति तावदेवाहुः - य एते जातिशब्दाः गुणशब्दाश्च — तैलं घृतम् इति, खार्यामपि भवन्ति, द्रोणेऽपि; शुक्लो नीलः कृष्णः इति हिमवत्यपि भवति वटकणिकामात्रेऽपि द्रव्ये । इमाश्चापि संज्ञा अक्तपरिमाणानामर्थानां क्रियन्ते । ताः केनाधिकस्य स्युः ?

The line of argument is not sound. Here there are certain words which are restricted in their denotation. The words denoting number, measurement etc. come under that category. Five, six etc. cannot have their original denotation if one is removed from them. *Drōṇaḥ, khārī* and *āḍhakam* cannot have their denotation either if something is added or something is removed. Some which have an extensive denotation have it — the words denoting *jāti* and *guṇa*. The *jāti-śabdas* like *tāilam* and *ghṛtam* may have their denotation, whether the quantity of the article is *khārī* or *drōṇa*. The *guṇa-śabdas* like *śuklaḥ, nīlaḥ, kṛṣṇaḥ* may have their denotation whether the *guṇin* is *Himavān* or the tiny seed of banyan tree. These *saṁjñās* too are restricted in their denotation. Hence how can they denote those to which something has been added?

एवं तर्हि आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति - तदेकदेशभूतं तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते इति, यदयं 'नेदमदसोरकोः' इति सककारयोरिदमदसोः प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ।

If so, the procedure of *Ācārya* (*Sūtrakāra*) suggests that one may denote the same even if something is added to it, since

he enjoins *pratiṣēdha* to *idam* and *adas* having *ka - pratyaya* in the *sūtra* '*Nēdamadasōr akōḥ*' (7, 1, 11.)

कथं कृत्वा ज्ञापकम् ?

Under which interpretation is it *jñāpaka* ?

इदमदसोः कार्यमुच्यमानं कः प्रसङ्गो यत्सककयोः स्यात् । पश्यति त्वाचार्यः 'तदेकदेशभूतं तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते इति, ततः सककारयोः प्रतिषेधं शास्ति ।

Where is the chance for *idam* and *adas* with *kakāra* to get the *kārya* enjoined to *idam* and *adas ? Ācārya* sees that one may denote the same even if something is added to it and hence enjoins *pratiṣēdha* if they are with *kakāra*.

IV

कानि पुनरस्य योगस्य प्रयोजनानि ?

What, then, are the *prayōjanas* of this *sūtra* ?

प्रयोजनं सर्वनामाव्ययसंज्ञायाम्

There is *prayōjana* with reference to *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* and *avyayasaṁjñā*.

सर्वनामाव्ययसंज्ञायां प्रयोजनम् - सर्वे, परमसर्वे; विश्वे, परमविश्वे ; उच्चैः, परमोच्चैः नीचैः परमनीचैः इति

The *prayōjana* is in getting the *sarvanāmasaṁjñā* to *paramasarva* and *paramaviśva* related to *sarva* and *viśva*, so that the forms *paramasarvē* and *paramaviśvē* may be secured and in getting the *avyayasaṁjñā* to *paramōccāiḥ* and *paramanīcāiḥ* related to *uccāis* and *nīcāis*.

उपपदविधौ भयाढ्यादिग्रहणम्

Taking in *bhaya* and *āḍhya* under *upapadavidhi* (is another benefit.)

उपपदविधौ भयाढ्यादिग्रहणं प्रयोजनम् - भयङ्करः, अभयङ्करः, आढ्यङ्करणं स्वाढ्यङ्करणम्

Prayōjana is taking in *bhaya* and *āḍhya* under *upapadavidhi*, so that the forms *abhayaṅkaraḥ* and *svāḍhyaṅkaraṇam* may be secured in the same way as *bhayaṅkaraḥ* and *āḍhyaṅkaraṇam*.

ङीब्विधावुगिद्ग्रहणम् Taking in *ugit* under *ṅīb-vidhi*.

ङीब्विधावुगिद्ग्रहणं प्रयोजनम् - भवती, अतिभवती; महती, अतिमहती
Prayōjana is taking in *ugit* under *ṅīb-vidhi* so that *atibhavatī* and *atimahatī* can be secured in the same way as *bhavatī* and *mahatī*.

प्रतिषेधे स्वस्रादिग्रहणम्
Taking in *svasrādi* under *ṅīp-pratiṣēdha* (is another benefit).

ङीप्प्रतिषेधे स्वस्रादिग्रहणं प्रयोजनम् - स्वसा; परमस्वसा; दुहिता, परमदुहिता
Prayōjana is taking in *svasṛ* etc. under *ṅīp-pratiṣēdha*, so that *paramasvasā* and *paramaduhitā* can be secured in the same way as *svasā* and *duhitā*.

NOTE :—The word *vidhi* in the *sūtra* '*Yēna vidhis tadantasya*' does not refer to that which is *antoganistic* to *pratiṣēdha*

अपरिमाणबिस्तादिग्रहणं च प्रतिषेधे
Taking in *aparimāṇabistādi* also under *ṅīp-pratiṣēdha*.

अपरिमाणबिस्तादिग्रहणं च ङीप्प्रतिषेधे प्रयोजनम् । अपरिमाणबिस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्यो न तद्धितलुकि - द्विबिस्ता, द्विपरमबिस्ता; त्रिबिस्ता, त्रिपरमाबिस्ता; द्व्याचिता द्विपरमाचिता ।

Prayōjana is taking in *bistādi* not preceded by a word denoting *parimāṇa* under *ṅīp-pratiṣēdha*. The forms *dvibistā*, *tribistā* and *dvyācitā* are secured by the *sūtra* '*Aparimāṇabistācitakambalyēbhyō na taddhitaluki*' (4, 1, 22) So also the forms *dviparamabistā*, *triparamabistā* and *dviparamācitā* may be secured.

दिति Taking in *diti* (is another benefit.)

दितिग्रहणं च ण्यविधौ प्रयोजनम् - दितेरपत्यं दैत्यः । अदितेरपत्यम् आदित्यः । दित्यदित्यादित्येत्यदितिग्रहणं न कर्तव्यं भवति ।

Prayōjana is taking in *diti* under *ṇyavidhi*, so that the son of *Aditi* may be called *Āditya* in the same way as the son of *Diti* is called *Dāitya*. In that case the word '*aditi*' need not be read in the *sūtra* '*Dityadityādityapatyuttarapadāṇ ṇyaḥ*' (4, 1, 85).

रोण्या अण् *Aṇ* with reference to *rōṇī* (is another benefit).

'रोण्या अण्ग्रहणं च प्रयोजनम् - आजकरौणः, सैंहिकरौणः

Prayōjana is in taking *aṇ* with reference to *rōṇī*, so that the forms *āiakarāuṇaḥ* and *sāiṁhikarāuṇaḥ* may be secured.

तस्य च *Tasya ca.*

तस्य चेति वक्तव्यम् - रौणः

'*Tasya ca*' need be read, so that *rāuṇaḥ* may be secured.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads here:- '*Svam rūpam ityasya anuvṛttim Vārttikakārō nēcchati*' and *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* adds:— *Tēna sūtrapratyākhyānād iti tātparyam.*'

किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति ? [1] तदन्ताच्च तदन्तविधिना सिद्धम्, केवलाच्च व्यपदेशिवद्भावेन ।

Why is it not achieved? It takes place by *tadantavidhi* in words which end in it and by *vyapadēśivadbhāva* if it stands alone.

व्यपदेशिवद्भावोऽप्रातिपदिकेन

There is no *vyapadēśivadbhāva* [2] in *prātipadikas*.

NOTE:—*Kāiyaṭa* reads:— '*Aprātipadikēna ityatra prātipadikagrahaṇē liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam iti vacanāt strīpratyayāntāir api vyapadēśivadbhāvō na bhavati.*'

किं पुनः कारणं व्यपदेशिवद्भावोऽप्रातिपदिकेन ?

What is the use of the *paribhāṣā* '*Vyapadēśivadbhāvōsprātikēna*'?

NOTE:-*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* reads:-*Bhāṣyē kāraṇaśabdaḥ prayōjanavācī.*

इह सूत्रान्ताट्ठग्भवति, दशान्ताड्डो भवतीति केवलादुत्पत्तिर्मा भूदिति ।

So that *ṭhak* may be suffixed to the word ending in *sūtra* (by the *sūtra* '*Kratu...sūtrāntāṭṭhak*' (4, 2, 60) and *ḍaḥ* to the word ending in *daśa* (by the *sūtra* '*Tadasminnadhikam iti daśāntād ḍaḥ*' (5, 2, 45) and not to the words *sūtra* and *daśa*.

1. In some editions there is the reading न तदन्ताच्च ... व्यपदेशिवद्भावेन. It should be taken as a *kāku*.

2. For the explanation of *vyapadēśivadbhāva*, see Vol. I p. 78.

नैतदस्ति प्रयोजनम् । सिद्धमत्र तदन्ताच्च तदन्तविधिना, केवलाच्च व्यपदेशिवद्भावेन । सोऽयमेवं सिद्धे सति यदन्तग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः सूत्रान्तादेव दशान्तादेव इति

No, this is not the *prayōjana.* The *pratyaya* mentioned is definitely suffixed by *tadantavidhi* to words ending in them and by *vyapadēśivadbhāva* if they stand alone Since *Ācārya* has, in that situation, mentioned the word *anta*, he suggests that they are suffixed only to those that end in them.

नात्र तदन्तादुत्पत्तिः प्राप्नोति ; इदानीमेव ह्युक्तं समासप्रत्ययविधौ प्रतिषेधः इति।
It is not possible to suffix it here by *tadantavidhi*, since it is just now said that there is *pratiṣēdha* in *samāsavidhi* and *pratyayavidhi.*

सा तर्हि एषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या
Hence it is necessary to read this *paribhāṣā* (*Vyapadēśivad-bhāvōsprātipadikēna*).

न कर्तव्या । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति - व्यपदेशिवद्भावोऽप्रातिपदिकेन - इति, यदयं पूर्वादिनिः, सपूर्वाच्च इत्याह ।
No, it need not be read. The procedure of *Ācārya* suggests that there is no *vyapadēśivadbhāva* with reference to *prātipadika*, since he reads '*Pūrvād iniḥ*' (5, 2, 86) and '*Sapūrvācca*' (5, 2, 87).

NOTE: — *Nāgēśabhaṭṭa* reads: *Pūrvād ityaṁśō jñāpaka ityarthaḥ*

नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम्
It is not a *jñāpaka*; for there is another *prayōjana* got from its mention.

किम् ? What ?

[1] सपूर्वात्पूर्वादिनिं वक्ष्यामीति ।
I shall state that *ini* is suffixed to all *sapūrvas*.

यत्तर्हि योगविभागं करोति । इतरथा हि पूर्वात्सपूर्वादिनिः इत्येव ब्रूयात्

1. सपूर्वादिनिम् is another reading.

It cannot be taken in that manner, since he has split it into two *sūtras*. Otherwise he would have read it as '*Pūrvāt sapūrvād iniḥ*'.

किं पुनरयमस्यैव शेषः तस्य चेति ?

Is this the supplement to this *sūtra* '*Tasya ca*' alone?

नेत्याह, यच्चानुक्रान्तं, यच्चानुक्रंस्यते सर्वस्यैव शेषः तस्य चेति ।

No, says he. It is supplement to wherever it (*anta*) is mentioned, wherever it is to be mentioned and to '*Tasya ca*'.

रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ

In *yadvidhi* with reference to *ratha, sītā* and *hala*.

रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ प्रयोजनम् - रथ्यः, परमरथ्यः; सीत्यम्, परमसीत्यम्; हल्या, परमहल्या

Prayōjana is towards *yadvidhi* with reference to *ratha, sītā* and *hala*, so that the *pratyaya yat* may be suffixed to words ending in *ratha, sītā* and *hala* to secure the forms *paramarathyāḥ, paramasītyam* and *paramahalyā* in the same way as *rathyaḥ, sītyam* and *halyā* (by the *sūtras* '*Rathād yat* 4, 3, 121), '*Nāu...sītā... sammitēṣu*' (4, 4, 91) and '*Matajanahalāt ...*' (4, 4, 97).

सुसर्वार्धदिक्छब्देभ्यो जनपदस्य

With reference to *janapada* after *su, sarva, ardha* and *dikśabda*.

सुसर्वार्धदिक्शब्देभ्यो जनपदस्य प्रयोजनम् । सु - सुपाञ्चालकः, सुमागधकः - सु । सर्व - सर्वपाञ्चालकः, सर्वमागधकः सर्व । अर्ध - अर्धपाञ्चालकः, अर्धमागधकः - अर्ध । दिक्छब्द - पूर्वपाञ्चालकः, अपरपाञ्चालकः, पूर्वमागधकः, अपरमागधकः

Prayōjana is with reference to words denoting *janapada* following *su, sarva, ardha* and *dikśabdas*, so that *vuñ* (enjoined by the *sūtra Janapadatadavadhyōśca* (4, 2, 124) may be suffixed after them so that the following forms may be secured :- *Supāñcālakaḥ, sumāgadhakaḥ, sarvapāñcālakaḥ, sarvamāgadhakaḥ, ardhapāñcālakaḥ, ardhamāgadhakaḥ, pūrvapāñcālakaḥ, aparapāñcālakaḥ, pūrvamāgadhakaḥ* and *aparamāgadhakaḥ*.

ऋतोर्वृद्धिमद्विधाववयवानाम्

Towards the parts of seasons with reference to *vṛddhimadvidhi*.

ऋतोर्वृद्धिमद्विधावयवानां प्रयोजनम् - पूर्वशारदं, अपरशारदं, पूर्वनैदाघम् अपरनैदाघम्

Prayōjana is towards the *avayavas* of *ṛtus* with reference to *vṛddhimadpratyaya*, so that the forms *pūrvaśāradam*, *apara-śāradam*, *pūrvanāidāgham* and *aparnaidāgham* can be secured.

ठञ्विधौ सङ्ख्यायाः Towards *saṅkhyā* in *ṭhañvidhi*.

ठञ्विधौ सङ्ख्यायाः प्रयोजनम् - द्विषाष्टिकं, पञ्चषाष्टिकम्

Prayōjana is in *ṭhañvidhi* towards *saṅkhyāśabdas*, so that the forms *dviṣāṣṭikam* and *pañcaṣāṣṭikam* may be secured.

धर्मान्नञः

With reference to *dharma* preceded by *nañ* (is another benefit).

धर्मान्नञः प्रयोजनम् - धर्मं चरति धार्मिकः, अधर्मं चरति अधार्मिकः । अधर्माच्च इति न वक्तव्यं भवति ।

Prayōjana is with reference to *dharma* preceded by *nañ* in taking *ṭhak* after it, so that the word *adhārmikaḥ* may be secured in the sense of *adharmam carati* in the same way as *dhārmikaḥ* is secured in the sense of *dharmam carati*. In that case there is no need to read the *vārttika* '*Adharmāccēti vaktavyam*.'

पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपदस्य च

Need to read '*Tasya ca taduttarapadasya ca*' in *padādhikāra* and *aṅgādhikāra*.

पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपदस्य च इति वक्तव्यम् ।

It is necessary to read *Tasya ca taduttarapadasya ca* in *padādhi-kāra* and *aṅgādhikāra*.

पदाधिकारे किं प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the *prayōjana* (in reading it) in *padādhikāra* ?

प्रयोजनमिष्टकेषीकामालानां चिततूलभारिषु

Prayōjana is in the operation of the *sūtra* '***Iṣṭakēṣīkāmālānām citatūlabhāriṣu***' (6, 3, 65).

इष्टकेषीकामालानां चिततूलभारिषु प्रयोजनम् - इष्टकाचितं चिन्वीत, पक्वेष्टकाचितं चिन्वीत ; इषीकतूलेन, मुञ्जेषीकतूलेन ; मालभारिणी कन्या, उत्पलमालभारिणी कन्या ।

Prayōjana is in the operation of the *sūtra* '*Iṣṭakēṣīkāmālānām citatūlabhāriṣu*' so that the shortening of the final letter of *iṣṭakā*, *iṣīkā* and *mālā* may take place in *pakvēṣṭakacitam*, *muñjēṣīkatūlēna*, and *utpalamālabhāriṇī* as in *iṣṭaka-citam*, *iṣīkatūlēna* and *mālabhāriṇī* in the expressions *iṣṭakacitam cinvīta*, and *mālabhāriṇī kanyā*.

अङ्गाधिकारे किं प्रयोजनम् ?

What is the *prayōjana* (in reading it) in *aṅgādhikāra*?

प्रयोजनं महदप्स्वसृनप्तॄणां दीर्घविधौ

Prayōjana is in *dīrghavidhi* with reference to *mahat*, *ap*, *svasṛ* and *naptṛ*.

महदप्स्वसृनप्तॄणां दीर्घविधौ प्रयोजनम् - महत् - महान्, परममहान् ; अप् - आपस्तिष्ठन्ति, स्वापस्तिष्ठन्ति ; स्वसृ - स्वसा स्वसारौ स्वसारः, परमस्वसा, परमस्वसारौ परमस्वसारः; नप्तृ - नप्ता नप्तारौ नप्तारः, परमनप्ता परमनप्तारौ परमनप्तारः ।[1]

Prayōjana is in *dīrghavidhi* with reference to *mahat*, *ap*, *svasṛ* and *naptṛ*, so that the form *paramamahān* similar to *mahān*, *svāpaḥ* in the sentence *svāpas tiṣṭhanti* similar to *āpaḥ* in the sentence *āpas tiṣṭhanti*, *paramasvasā paramasvasārau paramasvasāraḥ* similar to *svasā svasārau svasāraḥ*, and *paramanaptā paramanaptārau, paramanaptāraḥ* similar to *naptā*, *naptārau*, *naptāraḥ* may be secured.

पद्युष्मदस्मदस्थ्याद्यनडुहो नुम्

(*Prayōjana* is) with reference to *pad*, *yuṣmad*, *asmad*, *asthi* etc. and *anaḍuh* in relation to *num*.

पद्भावः प्रयोजनम् - द्विपदः पश्य

The *padbhāva* of *pāda* is the *prayōjana*, so that the form *dvipadaḥ* in the sentence *dvipadaḥ paśya* can be secured.

अस्ति चेदानीं कश्चित् केवलः पाच्छब्दो यदर्थो विधिः स्यात् ?

1. Reading in Bombay Edition is slightly different.

Is there any stem *pat*, for which the *vidhi* is necessary ?

NOTE :—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* tells us that this question has arisen under the view that there is *tadantavidhi* on account of the *adhikāra* of *pad*.

नास्तीत्याह 'No' says he.

एवं तर्हि अङ्गाधिकारे प्रयोजनं नास्तीति कृत्वा पदाधिकारस्य प्रयोजनमुक्तं 'हिमकाषिहतिषु च' । यथा पत्काषिणौ पत्काषिणः, एवं परमपत्काषिणौ परमपत्काषिणः

On considering that, if so, there is no use in *aṅgadhikāra*, the benefit of taking *padādhikāra* is shown in the *sūtra* '*Himakāṣihatiṣu*' (6, 3, 54) so that the forms *paramapatkāṣiṇāu*, and *paramapatkāṣiṇaḥ* may be secured similar to *patkāṣiṇāu* and *patkāṣiṇaḥ*.

यदि तर्हि पदाधिकारे पादस्य तदन्तविधिर्भवति, 'पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु' यथेह भवति - पादेनोपहतं पदोपहतम्, एवमत्रापि स्यात् - दिग्धपादेनोपहतं दिग्धपदोपहतमिति

If, then, there is *tadantavidhi* to *pāda* in *padādhikāra*, *digdhapādēna upahatam* will have to be compounded into *digdhapadōpahatam* in the same way as *pādēna upahatam* is compounded into *padōpahatam* on the strength of the *sūtra* '*Pādasya padājyātigōpahatēṣu*' (6, 3, 52) and it is not desired.

एवं तर्हि अङ्गाधिकार एव प्रयोजनम्

If so, there is *prayōjana* in *aṅgādhikāra* itself.

ननु चोक्तं नास्ति केवलः पाच्छब्द इति

Oh, it was said that there is no stem of the form *pāt*.

अयमस्ति पादयतेरप्रत्ययः पात् - पदः पदा पदे

There is the stem *pāt* in the sense of *pādayati* by adding *kvi-pratyaya*, from which the case-forms *padaḥ*, *padā*, and *padē* are formed.

युष्मदस्मत् - यूयं वयम्, अतियूयम् अतिवयम्[1]

Prayōjana is with reference to *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, so that the forms *atiyūyam*, *ativayam* can be secured similar to *yūyam* and *vayam*.

1. Bombay Edition reads परमयूयं, परमवयम्

अस्थ्यादि - अस्थ्ना, दध्ना, सक्थ्ना, परमास्थ्ना, परमदध्ना, परमसक्थ्ना

Prayōjana is with reference to *asthi* etc, so that the forms *paramāsthnā*, *paramadadhnā* and *paramasakthnā* can be secured similar to *asthnā*, *dadhnā* and *sakthnā*.

अनडुहो नुम् - अनड्वान् परमानड्वान्

Prayōjana is with reference to *anaḍut* in relation to *num*, so that the form *paramānaḍvān* similar to *anaḍvān* can be secured.

द्युपथिमथिपुंगोसखिचतुरनडुत्त्रिग्रहणम्

(*Prayōjana* is) with reference to *dyu*, *pathin*, *mathin*, *puṁ*, *gō*, *sakhi*, *catur*, *anaḍut* and *tri*.

द्युपथिमथिपुंगोसखिचतुरनडुत्त्रिग्रहणं प्रयोजनम् । द्यौः, सुद्यौः; पन्थाः, सुपन्थाः; मन्थाः, सुमन्थाः, परममन्थाः; पुमान्, परमपुमान्; गौः, सुगौः; सखा सखायौ सखायः, सुसखा सुसखायौ सुसखायः; परमसखा परमसखायौ परमसखायः; चत्वारः, परमचत्वारः; अनड्वाहः परमानड्वाहः; त्रयाणां परमत्रयाणाम् ।

Prayōjana is with reference to *dyu*, *pathin*, *mathin*, *puṁ*, *gō*, *sakhi*, *catur*, *anaḍut* and *tri*, so that the forms *sudyāuḥ* by the side of *dyāuḥ*, *supanthāḥ* beside *panthāḥ*, *sumanthāḥ* and *paramamanthāḥ* by the side of *manthāḥ*, *paramapumān* beside *pumān*, *sugāuḥ* beside *gāuḥ*, *susakhā susakhāyāu susakhāyaḥ*, *paramasakhā paramasakhāyāu*, *paramasakhāyaḥ* beside *sakhā sakhāyāu sakhāyaḥ*, *paramacatvāraḥ* beside *catvāraḥ*, *paramānaḍvāhaḥ* beside *anaḍvāhaḥ* and *paramatrayāṇām* beside *trayāṇam* can be secured.

त्यदादिविधिभस्त्रादिस्त्रीग्रहणं च

(*Prayōjana* is) with reference to *tyadādividhi*, *bhastrādi* and *strī*.

त्यदादिविधिभस्त्रादिस्त्रीग्रहणं च प्रयोजनम् । सः, अतिसः; भस्त्रका, भस्त्रिका, निर्भस्त्रका निर्भस्त्रिका, बहुभस्त्रका बहुभस्त्रिका; स्त्रियौ स्त्रियः, राजस्त्रियौ राजस्त्रियः ।

Prayōjana is with reference to *tyadādividhī*, *bhastrādi* and *strī* so that the forms *atisaḥ* beside *saḥ*, *nirbhastrakā nirbhastrikā*, *bahubhastrakā* and *bahubhastrikā* beside *bhastrā* and *bhastrikā* and *rājastriyāu* and *rājastriyaḥ* beside *striyāu* and *striyaḥ* can be secured.

वर्णग्रहणं च सर्वत्र

Varṇagrahaṇam too everywhere (is the *prayōjana*).

वर्णग्रहणं च सर्वत्र प्रयोजनम्

Prayōjana is with reference to *varṇa* everywhere.

क्व सर्वत्र ? What is referred to by *sarvatra ?*

अङ्गाधिकारे चान्यत्र च In *aṅgādhikāra* and elsewhere.

अन्यत्रोदाहृतम्

Examples were given with reference to places other than those having *aṅgādhikāra.*

अङ्गाधिकारे - अतो दीर्घो यञि, सुपि च - इहैव स्यात् आभ्याम्, घटाभ्यामित्यत्र न स्यात्

The *sūtras* '*Atō dīrghō yañi*' and '*Supi ca*' which are in *aṅgādhikāra* will operate only with reference to *ābhyām* and not with reference to *ghaṭābhyām.*

प्रत्ययग्रहणं चापञ्चम्याः

Absence of the same with reference to the *pratyaya* forming the *viśēṣaṇa* of *pañcamyanta* is the *prayōjana.*

प्रत्ययग्रहणं चापञ्चम्याः प्रयोजनम् । यञिञोः फग्भवति गार्ग्यायणः; वात्स्यायनः; परमगार्ग्यायणः, परमवात्स्यायनः ।

Prayōjana is not to have *tadantavidhi* with reference to the *pratyaya* enjoined after a *pañcamī* for another pupose, so that the forms *paramagārgyāyaṇaḥ* and *paramavātsyāyanaḥ* may be formed by compounding *parama* with *Gārgyāyaṇaḥ* and *Vātsyāyanaḥ* which are formed from *Gārgya* and *Vātsya* which are *yañanta* by the addition of *phak* by the *sūtra* '*Yañiñōśca*' (4, 1, 101).

NOTE :—(1) *Kāiyaṭa* reads :—'*Apañcamyāḥ ityasya nāyam arthaḥ — yatra pañcamyantāt pratyayō vidhīyatē tatra tadantavidhir na bhavati iti*' ... '*Yatra pañcamyantāt paraḥ pratyayaḥ kāryāntaravidhānāya parigryatē tatra tadantavidhir mā bhūt.* *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* states that *parigṛhyatē* means *anūdyatē.* *Parama-*

gārgyāyaṇa iti :–*Tatra Gārgyāyaṇa ityēva udāharaṇam* etc.

NOTE :— (2) Certain editions read after *paramavātsyāyayanaḥ* in the text *Dākṣāyaṇaḥ Paramadākṣāyṇaḥ*. But it seems to me that, if they were in the original text, *Dākṣāyaṇaḥ* would have been read after *Vātsyāyanaḥ*. Since *Bhaṭṭōjidīkṣita* mentions *Dākṣāyaṇaḥ*, it should have crept into the text before his time.

अपञ्चम्या इति किमर्थम् ? What for is *apañcamyāḥ* ?

दृषत्तीर्णा, परिषत्तीर्णा

So that *t* in *tīrṇā* of *dṛṣattīrṇā* and *pariṣattīrṇā* is not changed to *n* by the *sūtra* '*Radābhyām niṣṭhātō naḥ pūrvasya ca daḥ*' (8, 2, 42)

अलैवानर्थकेन

Anarthaka only with one letter.

NOTE :—This *vārttika* is not found in some editions.

अलैवानर्थकेन, नान्योनानर्थकेनेति वक्तव्यम्

It must be said that *anarthakasya* in the dictum *arthavadgrahaṇē anarthakasya grahaṇam* with reference to *varṇanirdēśa* has reference to only one letter and not to that which consists of more than one letter.

किं प्रयोजनम् ? Why ?

हन्ग्रहणे प्लीहन्ग्रहणं मा भूत्; उद्ग्रहणे गर्मुद्ग्रहणं; स्त्रीग्रहणे शस्त्रीग्रहणम्; सङ्ग्रहणे पायसङ्करोतीति [1] मा भूत् ।

So that *plīhan* may not be taken on the strength of *hangrahaṇa*, *garmud* may not be taken on the strength of *udgrahaṇa*, *śastrī* may not be taken on the strength of *strīgrahaṇa* and *pāyasaṅkarōti* may not be affected by the *grahaṇa* of *saṁ*.

NOTE :— *Kāiyaṭa* reads here :—*Tēna plīhānāu iti dīrghō bhavati* ... *garmut-sthāsyati iti pūrvasavarṇābhāvaḥ* ...*śastriyā* ... *iti iyaṅ na bhavati, pāyasaṅkarōti iti* ... *suṭ na bhavati.*

1. Bombay Edition reads पायसङ्ग्रहणम्

किमर्थमिदमुच्यते ? न पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपदस्य च' इत्येव सिद्धम्; न चेदं तत्, नापि तदुत्तरपदम् ।
What is this for? It does not come within the operation of the *paribhāṣā* '*Padāṅgādhikārē tasya ca taduttarapadasya*', since it is neither *tat* nor *taduttarapada.*

तन्न वक्तव्यं भवति That *paribhāṣā* need not be read.

किं पुनरत्र ज्यायः ? Which is better here?

तदन्तविधिरेव ज्यायान् *Tadantavidhi* is evidently better.

इदमपि सिद्धं भवति - परमातिमहान्; एतद्धि नैव तद् नापि तदुत्तरपदम् ।
The form *paramātimahān* too is achieved; it is neither *tat* nor *taduttarapada.*

[1] अनिनस्मन्ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन

The *pratyayas an, in, as* and *man* take *tadantavidhi* both when they have meaning and when they have no meaning.

अनिनस्मन्ग्रहणानि अर्थवता च अनर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति । अन् - राज्ञा इत्यर्थवता, साम्ना इत्यनर्थकेन । इन् - दण्डी इत्यर्थवता, वाग्मी इत्यनर्थकेन अस् - सुपया इत्यर्थवता, सुस्रोता इत्यनर्थकेन । मन् - सुशर्मा इत्यर्थवता, सुप्रथिमा इत्यनर्थकेन ।

An, in, as and *man* take *tadantavidhi* both when they have a meaning or no meaning. The *an* is *arthavad* in *rājñā* and *anarthaka* in *sāmnā*; *in* is *arthavad* in *daṇḍī* and *anarthaka* in *vāgmī*; *as* is *arthavad* in *supayāḥ* and *anarthaka* in *susrōtāḥ*; and *man* is *arthavad* is *suśarmā* and *anarthaka* in *suprathimā*

यस्मिन्विधिस्तदादावल्ग्रहणे

Need for the *paribhāṣā* '*Yasmin vidhis tadādāvalgrahaṇē.*'

अल्ग्रहणेषु यस्मिन् विधिः तदादाविति वक्तव्यम् [2]

In *sūtras* dealing with a single letter, it must be said '*Yasmin vidhiḥ tadādau.*'

1. Bombay reading is अनिनस्मन्ग्रहणानि च
2. Bombay reading is यस्मिन्विधिस्तदादाविति वक्तव्यम्

किं प्रयोजनम् ? Why ?

अचि श्नुधातुभ्रुवां य्वोरियङुवङौ - इहैव स्यात् श्रियौ भ्रुवौ, श्रियः भ्रुव इत्यत्र न स्यात्

(Otherwise), the *sūtra* '*Aci śnu-dhātu-bhruvām yvōr iyaṅuva-ṅāu*' will operate with reference to *śriyāu* and *bhruvāu* and not to *śriyaḥ* and *bhruvaḥ*, (since *as* of the latter two is *ajādi* and not *ac*).

वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम् (1, 1, 73,)

There are *three* topics :—(1) The *prayōjana* of the words *vṛddhi*, *yasya*, *acām* and *ādi*. (2) The inappropriateness of the expression *acām ādiḥ* and its answer and (3) The additions to the *sūtra*.

I

वृद्धिग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What for is the mention of *vṛddhiḥ* in the *sūtra* ?

यस्याचामादिस्तद् वृद्धम् इतीयत्युच्यमाने दात्ताः राक्षिताः, अत्रापि प्रसज्येत । वृद्धिग्रहणे पुनः क्रियमाणे न दोषो भवति ।

If the *sūtra* is read omitting the word *vṛddhiḥ* thus— '*Yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham*'; the *saṁjñā* will have *ativyāpti* in the words *dāttāḥ* and *rākṣitāḥ*. If, on the other hand *vṛddhiḥ* is read, there will be no defect in the *sūtra*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* and *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* state that *yasya acām ādiḥ* will refer to the *hal* which precedes the vowels in the group, since *ṣaṣṭhī* in *acām* will convey *samīpārtha*.

अथ यस्यग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What for, then, is the mention of the word *yasya* ?

यस्येति व्यपदेशाय

The word *yasya* is to suggest what is denoted by *tad*.

अथ अज्ग्रहणं किमर्थम् ? What for, then, is the mention of *acām* ?

वृद्धिर्यस्यादिस्तद्वृद्धम् इतीयत्युच्यमाने इहैव स्यात् - ऐतिकायनीयाः औपगवीयाः; इह न स्यात् गार्गीयाः वात्सीयाः इति । अज्ग्रहणे पुनः क्रियमाणे न दोषो भवति ।

If the *sūtra* is read omitting *acām* thus—'*Vṛddhir yasyādīs tad vṛddham*', it will have application only with reference to *Āitikāyanīyāḥ* and *Āupagavīyāḥ* and not with reference to *Gārgiyāḥ* and *Vātsīyāḥ*. If *acām* is read, there will be no defect in the *sūtra*.

अथ आदिग्रहणं किमर्थम् ?

What for, then, is the mention of *ādi*?

वृद्धिर्यस्याचां तद् वृद्धम् इतीयत्युच्यमाने सभासंनयने भवः साभासंनयनः इत्यत्रापि प्रसज्येत । आदिग्रहणे पुनः क्रियमाणे न दोषो भवति

If the *sūtra* is read omitting *ādiḥ* as '*Vṛddhir yasyācām tad vṛddham*', there will be *ativyāpti* in *sābhāsaṁnayana* which means *sabhāsamnayanē bhavaḥ*. If the word *ādiḥ* is read, there will be no defect in the *sūtra*.

II

वृद्धसंज्ञायामजसंनिवेशादनादित्वम्

Impossibility of *āditva* in the *sūtra* dealing with *vṛddhasaṁjñā* on account of the impossibility of *sannivēśa* of vowels.

वृद्धसंज्ञायाम् अजसंनिवेशाद् आदिरित्येतद् नोपपद्यते ; न ह्यचां संनिवेशोऽस्ति ।

The expression *ādiḥ* in the *sūtra* dealing with *vṛddhasaṁjñā* has no meaning, since it is impossible to read vowels in a word in juxtaposition.

ननु चैवं विज्ञायते - अजेव आदिः अजादेरिति [1]

Oh it is understood only in this manner that *ajādēḥ* is the genetive singular of *ajādi* which means the *ādi* among vowels, (so that there may be vowels and consonants in the group).

नैवं शक्यम् । इहैव प्रसज्येत - औपगवीयाः ; इह न स्यात् गार्गीया इति ।

No, it too cannot produce the desired effect; for the *sūtra* will operate only with reference to *āupagavīyāḥ* and not with reference to *gārgīyāḥ*.

NOTE:—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* says that *vṛddhi* in the *sūtra* can refer only to the *vṛddhi* letter found in the *Akṣarasamāmnāya*.

1. Bombay Edition omits अजादेः

एकान्तादित्वं तर्हि विज्ञायते

If so, *acām ādiḥ* is interpreted as the *ādi* among vowels which form the *avayavas* of the word.

एकान्तादित्वे च सर्वप्रसङ्गः

If *ēkāntāditva* is taken to be the meaning of *acām ādiḥ*, there is chance for more than one to take the *saṁjñā*.

इहापि प्रसज्येत - सभासन्नयने भवः साभासन्नयन इति

There is chance for the *saṁjñā* to operate in *sābhāsannayana* in the meaning of *sabhāsannayanē bhavaḥ*.

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* says that, since there is no *nirdhāraṇē ṣaṣṭhī*, *acām ādiḥ* may mean the first of vowels and hence it may refer to any vowel that precedes any other vowel from the end.

सिद्धमजाकृतिनिर्देशात्

(The object) is achieved on account of the *nirdēśa* of the *ajākṛti*.

सिद्धमेतत् This is achieved.

कथम् ? How ?

[1] अजाकृतिर्निर्दिश्यते The *ajākṛti* is referred to here.

एवमपि व्यञ्जनैर्व्यवहितत्वान्न प्राप्नोति

Even then it does not chance to operate, since they are intercepted by consonants.

व्यञ्जनस्याविद्यमानत्वं यथान्यत्र

Non-recognition of the presence of consonants as elsewhere.

व्यञ्जनस्याविद्यमानवद्भावो वक्तव्यः

The *avidyamānavadbhāva* of consonants has to be mentioned.

यथान्यत्रापि व्यञ्जनस्याविद्यमानवद्भावो भवति

As there is *avidyamānavadbhāva* of *vyañjana* elsewhere.

क्वान्यत्र ? What does elsewhere refer to ?

1. अचः आकृतिः is another reading.

स्वरे - With reference to *svara* (accent).

NOTE :—*Kāiyaṭa* reads : –' *Vacanād vidyamānānyapi vyañjanāni na vivakṣitāni*.'

III

वा नामधेयस्य

Optional injunction of the *saṁjñā* to *nāmadhēya*.

वा नामधेयस्य वृद्धसंज्ञा वक्तव्या - देवदत्तीयाः, दैवदत्ताः; यज्ञदत्तीयाः, याज्ञदत्ताः

Vṛddhasaṁjñā has to be optionally enjoined to *nāmadhēya*, so that the following forms can be secured :-*Dēvadattīyāḥ*, *Dāivadattāḥ*; *Yajñadattīyāḥ*, *Yājñadattāḥ*.

गोत्रोत्तरपदस्य च To the *uttarapada* also referring to a *gōtra*

गोत्रोत्तरपदस्य च वृद्धसंज्ञा वक्तव्या - कम्बलचारायणीयाः, ओदनपाणिनीयाः, घृतरौढीयाः

Vṛddhasaṁjñā has to be enjoined to the latter member of a compound, if it happens to be the name of a *gōtra*, so that the following forms can be secured :—*Kambalacārāyaṇīyāḥ*, *Ōdanapāṇinīyāḥ*, *Ghṛtarāuḍhīyāḥ*.

गोत्रान्ताद्वासमस्तवत् Or after *gōtrānta* like a simple word.

गोत्रान्ताद्वा असमस्तवत् प्रत्ययो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । एतान्येवोदाहरणानि ।

Or it must be said that the *pratyaya* is attached after the latter member of a compound which is a *gōtrapratyayānta*, as is done in a simple word. The illustrations are the same.

NOTE :—*Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* reads here, '*Gōtrāntādvā iti :- gōtrapratyayāntōttarapadād ityarthaḥ; Cārāyaṇō gōtrāntō yathā asamāsē vṛddhāt cham labhatē, tathā samāsē vṛddhatvābhāvēspi.*'

किमविशेषेण ? Is it without exception ?

नेत्याह 'No' says he.

जिह्वाकात्यहरितकात्यवर्जम् Except *jihvākātya* and *haritakātya*.

जिह्वाकात्यं हरितकात्यं च वर्जयित्वा - जैह्वाकाताः, हारितकाताः

Excepting *jihvākātya* and *haritakālya* so that the forms *jāihvākātāḥ* and *hārītakātāḥ* may be secured.

किं पुनरत्र ज्यायः ? Which is, then, better here ?

गोत्रान्ताद्वासमस्तवत् इत्येव ज्यायः । इदमपि सिद्धं भवति - पिङ्गलकाण्वस्य छात्राः पैङ्गलकाण्वाः ॥

'*Gōtrāntād vā asamastavad*' is evidently better. This too is accomplished, the form *pāiṅgalakāṇvāḥ* in the sense of *Piṅgalakāṇva's* disciples.

त्यदादीनि च (1, 1, 74)

यस्याचामादिग्रहणम् अनुवर्तते, उताहो न ?

Is there *anuvṛtti* or no to *yasyācām ādiḥ ?*

किं चातः ? What if there is *anuvṛtti* or no ?

यद्यनुवर्तते, इह च प्रसज्येत - त्वत्पुत्रस्य छात्राः त्वात्पुत्राः, मात्पुत्राः । इह च न स्यात् त्वदीयो मदीय इति

If there is *anuvṛtti*, there is chance for the *pratyaya* (*cha*) in *tvātputrāḥ* which means *tvatputrasya chātrāḥ* and *mātputrāḥ* and it cannot appear in *tvadīya* and *madīya*.

NOTE :—Even though there is *upasarjanatva* to *tvat* in *tvatputra*, yet it gets the *pratyaya* on account of the *anyathānupapatti* of the *anuvṛtti* of *ādi*. In *tvadīya* and *madīya* it cannot appear (through *vyapadēśivadbhāva*, since there is no *vyapadēśivadbhāva* in *prātipadika*).

अथ निवृत्तम् 'एङ् प्राचां देशे'। यस्याचामादिग्रहणं कर्तव्यम्

If there is no *anuvṛtti*, the expression '*Yasyācām ādiḥ*' has to be read in connection with the next *sūtra* '*Eṅ prācām dēśē.*'

एवं तर्ह्यनुवर्तते If so, there is *anuvṛtti* for it.

कथं त्वात्पुत्रा मात्पुत्रा इति ?

How are *tvātputrāḥ* and *mātputrāḥ* avoided from receiving the *pratyaya ?*

सम्बन्धमनुवर्तिष्यते वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम् त्यदादीनि च वृद्धसंज्ञा भवन्ति । वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम् - एङ् प्राचां देशे - यस्याचामादिग्रहणम् अनुवर्तते, वृद्धिग्रहणं निवृत्तम् - तद्यथा, कश्चित्कान्तारे समुपस्थिते सार्थमुपादत्ते; स यदा निष्क्रान्तकान्तारो भवति तदा सार्थं जहाति ।

There will be *anuvṛtti* for *sambandha*. *Vṛddham* is taken by *anuvṛtti* to the *sūtra* '*Tyadādīni ca*' from '*Vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham*'. *Yasyācām ādiḥ* leaving of *vṛddhiḥ* is taken by *anuvṛtti* to the *sūtra* '*Eṅ prācām dēśē.*' This may be illustrated thus :—One needs the help of the caravan when he is nearing a forest and the moment he has crossed it, he dismisses it.

एङ् प्राचां देशे (1, 1, 75)

एङ् प्राचां देशे शैषिकेषु

The *sūtra* should be read with the word *śaiṣikēṣu*.

एङ् प्राचां देशे शैषिकेष्विति वक्तव्यम् - सैपुरिकी, सैपुरिका ; स्कौनगरिकी स्कौनगरिका इति ।

The *sūtra* has to be read '*Eṅ prācām dēśē śāiṣikēṣu*' so that the forms *sāipurikī*, *sāipurikā*; *skāunagarikī* and *skāunagarikā* can be secured.

Note :— *Nāgōjibhaṭṭa* ends his *uddyōta* here with the word *sarvēṣṭasiddhiḥ*, which seems to serve as *maṅgalānta*, since it was the practice to study only the first nine *āhnikas*.

NINTH ĀHNIKA ENDS

कौशिकान्वयजस्सूनुर्मङ्गलास्वामिनाथयोः ।
नीलकण्ठयतेश्छात्रः शब्दशास्त्रात्मशास्त्रयोः ॥
श्रीकुप्पुस्वामिविदुषः न्यायालङ्कारशास्त्रयोः ।
श्रीचिन्नस्वामिविदुषः जैमिनीये नये तथा ॥
द्राविडीलक्षणे लक्ष्ये भाषाशास्त्रे विमर्शकः ।
पिल्लङ्कुडिस्वाभिजनः सुब्रह्मण्याभिधो द्विजः ॥
श्रीकाञ्चीकामकोटीपीठमधिष्ठाय विलसतां यमिनाम् ।
श्रीचन्द्रशेखरेन्द्रसरस्वती नाम पावनं दधताम् ॥
आज्ञारूपानुग्रहेण षष्टेः पूर्तेरनन्तरम् ।
अकरोदाङ्ग्लभारत्या महाभाष्यविमर्शनम् ॥ *

* विजयनामसंवत्सरे सिंहमासि शुक्लपक्षे विनायकचतुर्थ्याम् इदं विमर्शनं अ अ सूत्रान्तं सम्पूर्णम् (12—9—1953)

CORRIGENDA.

Page	Line	For	Read
3	20	Add–it is taken that the *saṁjñā* is for both	
32	8	*sāsō*	*śāsō*
40	20	adjnnct	adjunct
	2	*ádēsas*	*ādēśas*
69	12	*yaksvarē*	*yaksvara*
70	17	*ākāralōpa*	*akāralōpa*
88	2	तत्रानल्विधो	तन्नानल्विधौ
120	7	Add–It is avoided by *sthānivadbhāva*	
	16	case-suffixe	case-suffix
154	24	sence	sense
164	3	contrued	construed
173	18	The	To
183	27	ञनावगाहन्ते	नावगाहन्ते
197	14	Omit the full-stop at the end	
211	16	same	some
216	30	te	to
220	7	f	If
240	11	पारिहारः	परिहारः
242	28	कारष्येत	करिष्यते
247	3	िक तहाित	किं तर्हीति
	10	*taparanirdē*	*taparanirdēśa*
	28	इात	इति
254	3	withe	with
258	17 & 21	ऋकार	ॠकार
261	4	*tadantantasya*	*tadantāntasya*
263	6	सककायेाः	सककारयोः
273	17	नान्येाना-	नान्येना-
274	21	or	and
276	2	*yasyādīs*	*yasyādis*

i

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BOOKS BY THE AUTHOR

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3 Do. Vol. III (āhnikas 7–9).
4–12 Do. Vols. IV to XII (āhnikas 10 to 85, to go to press).
13 Mahābhāṣyaprakāśikā—āhnikatrayam (Do).
14 History of Sanskrit Literature in Tamil.
15 History of Sanskrit Language in Tamil.
16 *Toṉiviḷakku* (Tamil rendering of Dhvanyālōka).
17 A study of Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava Canto I.
18 Knots in Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa (to go to press).
19 Comparative Grammar of the Tamil Language.
20 *Tolkāppiyam-Eḻuttatikāram* – with Tamil Commentary.
21 Do. with English Commentary.
22 *Tolkāppiyaccollatikārakkuṟippu.*
23 *Tolkāppiyam—Collatikāram*—with English Commentary.
24–26 Do. *Poruḷatikāram*—with English Commentary (3 parts).
27 *Tirukkuṟaḷ-Aṟattuppāl* with *Bālar-urai.*
28 Do. *Poruḷpāl* and *Kāmattuppāl.* Do.
29 *Tamiḻmoḻinūl.*
30 Historical Tamil Reader.
31 An Enquiry into the Relationship of Sanskrit and Tamil.
32 History of Grammatical Theories in Tamil and their relation to Grammatical literature in Sanskrit.
33 *Śaṅganūlhaḷum Vaidikamārggamum.*
34 *Vāsukivaḷḷuvam* (A Drama in Tamil), (Adaptation of *Tirukkuṟaḷ-Kāmattuppāl*).

Nos. 1, 2, 14, 15, 18, 23, 30 are Annamalai University Publications.
No. 31 is Travancore University Publication.
Nos. 21, 24, 25, 26, 32 Published in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
Nos. 16, 20, 27, 29, 33 Published under the patronage of the Maṭhādhipatis of Tiruppanandal Mutt.
No. 28 Published by the Kāmakōṭi Publishing House, Madras.
No. 34 Published in the Journal—Tiruvaḷḷuvar, Tiruchirapalli.